The Human Work Of Collaboration: Towards An Understanding Of Informal Unstructured Collaborative Projects

Thesis

The *human* work of collaboration

Towards an understanding of informal unstructured collaborative projects

Akash Puranik

The Open University

PhD Thesis submitted 2020

Abstract

This thesis aims to explore how collaborative work is performed on a day-to-day basis by investigating informal, unstructured, collaborative work. For that purpose, I employ ethnography as a methodological perspective, and structuration theory as an analytical tool. As a result, I create multiple, plausible, and evidence-supported explanations of the above 'how?' at various levels of abstraction. These explanations contribute towards thick descriptions of a distinctive phenomenon, offer a sociological account of the enacted contradictions, and are useful for advancing the current theorisation surrounding collaboration.

Exploring informal collaborative work offers a useful insight into the process of collaborative organising. In this thesis, these types of collaborations are identified as instances where individuals work together without any formal, structured contracts or agreed frameworks. Both the review of theoretical approaches to understanding collaboration and the discussion of contradictions as a conceptual tool are used to suggest that we need more research that looks at situation-specific, time-specific, and person-specific aspects of collaborations. Moreover, I evince that, while varied, useful, and nuanced theorising surrounding collaborations exists, evermore attention is needed to situate human agency and the day-to-day work performed in collaborative projects. I also highlight the potential to connect multiple theoretical lenses harmoniously through a pluralist orientation.

In order for this research to address the aforementioned needs, I employed ethnography as my methodology. This allowed me to craft a close and personal account of informal collaborations, which was accomplished by immersing myself as an insider in multiple collaborative projects for over 21 months of extensive fieldwork. Qualitative data was collected through reflections, semi-structured interviews, photos, videos, and a systematic record of social media posts and emails. Two projects are analysed in-depth: 1) Share Fair: a project by Eden Project Communities, where the participating organisations and individuals set up moneyless day-market events encouraging people to share skills, stories, things and community spirit, and 2) Rock4Refugees: a project organised by Guildford People to People (GP2P) through annual music events, fundraising and collections to supply humanitarian aid to refugees across Europe and to support other informal non-registered networks combating refugee crisis.

Consequently, my findings show that collaborative work in an informal, unstructured setting is very *human,* i.e., such work is messy, full of contradictions, always incomplete, flawed, deeply contextual, and immensely personal. People performing this work draw on their personalities, past experiences, social self, and emotions as much as they do on any abstract organising principles. They bring, *inter alia*, their dreams, hopes, moods, ambitions, grudges, and shortcomings with them, shaping the work through it. By doing so, they enact contradictions within the *doing* of collaborative work. For instance, when discussing ethicality, consensus building or meaning of things, collaborators perform actions that are starkly opposite and yet, they rationalise and comprehend them as consistent behaviours. In this thesis, I propose seeing such contradictions as relational in order to understand the process of how they are structured.

Finally, the original contribution to knowledge that I make accomplishes: 1) a situated descriptive account of day-to-day collaborative work within the two projects explored, 2) a conceptual unpacking of inherent contradictions at the contextual level, but, more specifically, at the personal/human one, and 3) a sociological explanation of these inherent contradictions by applying Giddens' structuration theory. Moreover, through this contribution I also problematise certain aspects of the current theorisation surrounding collaborations and identify possibilities for further conceptual advancements through a structurationist perspective.

Acknowledgements

Multiple contributions were vital for the development of this thesis. First of all, I would like to thank the Open University and the Department for Public Leadership and Social Enterprise within the Faculty of Business and Law for funding my doctoral research. I would also like to offer heartfelt thanks to both my supervisors, Prof. Siv Vangen and Dr Carol Jacklin-Jarvis. They offered me the much-needed flexibility in the early stages of this work, which encouraged me to take on a challenging and less trodden path for my research. Their patience in the last stages of writing was equally helpful. Even when we approached the aspects of this research in different ways, leading to lively debates, their comments were always valuable and have shaped this work.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all of my research informants, far too many to mention by name, who welcomed me with open arms in their community projects. Whilst they were busy day and night making these projects successful, they also tolerated my company and hours of non-coherent chats about my research and always had something valuable to add. Without their insights and support this work would not have been possible. Amongst those, special thanks to Dr. Christine Sefton and Tom Doughty who also spent a considerable time reading my final drafts of data presentation and offered me suggestions that lead to co-construction of the descriptive insights in this thesis.

I am also grateful to my colleague and friend Carlos Azevedo, in whom I found a compatriot to debate the philosophical underpinnings of organisational life. Our ongoing discussions surrounding my writing have developed my thinking process further. Special thanks to my dearest friend Dr. Effie Zagari who supported me through all the stages of this work. She always readily offered her advice and expertise to aid structuring my thoughts better on the paper. I would also like to thank my colleague at the Solent University, Dr Richard Scullion, who offered some very useful comments on my finished draft in a very short timeframe.

Finally, a definitive thank you goes to my family: my mom, dad and especially my brother Tejas, who have been with me through many ups and downs. Similarly, I could not have made it without the moral and psychological support of my beloved partner Rachel who co-opted into the anxiety of this work. Lastly, a special mention of my two furry bundles of joys, Aria and Rhea, who often assumed my keyboard to be their sleeping place, continuously messing up my drafts but reminded me of simple joys of life that kept me strong.

Table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of images

1 Introduction

Collaborations have become a norm for public as well as private sector organisations and have been the object of extensive research in the past decades. However, their complex and constantly evolving nature remains elusive, which creates the need for further investigations in order to comprehend the underlying mechanisms of such a multifaceted phenomenon. In this thesis I contribute to this ongoing quest by exploring the following question: 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' The answer to this seemingly straightforward question warrants extraordinary nuance, but, in brief, my thesis claims that the day-to-day collaborative work is performed in a very *human* way, by which I mean that such work is full of contradictions, always incomplete and flawed, deeply contextual and immensely personal.

In order to arrive at the above answer, I investigate collaborative work within the context of informal collaborations, identified for this research as instances where individuals or organisations work together without formal, structured contracts or agreed frameworks. Such collaborative work arrangements, which are common within voluntary work, rely on fostered flexibility and adaptability of organisers around emergent 'good for community' goals. For instance, the informal collaborative projects that I investigate focus on adding value to communities by bringing community members together, nurturing shared beliefs, improving skills, and creating a safe social space where they could interact. It is useful to study such a phenomenon extensively because the organic, spontaneous, and seemingly *ad hoc* organising within them can enrich our understanding of the processes underlying collaborative work. To begin, I offer a quote below, mentioned by one of the organisers in the early days of my fieldwork, which I believe sums up the essence of the informal collaborative work well:

"If you're open to opportunity and you're open to serendipity you can make things happen. Because I don't have any real proper plan...I'll go where those open doors are and I'll roll with it and change things to work with what's actually offered rather than the idea of: 'So we need to do one in this part of the country, and work with this organisation, and we need to have at least three existing groups to work with and have these kinds of meetings etc.' All of which would make everyone feel very safe, because that would be a very knowable, predictable structure that you could test …Well, it doesn't work that way. Nothing really works that way, but certainly this type of project wouldn't work that way."

Interactions such as this one made me curious to understand, well… how does this work? If the plan is to not have a plan, how does the organising on the day-to-day basis happen? If no one is sure what the right thing to do in a situation is, how does the decision about it get made? If multiple things could work, some of them entirely opposite, how does one get picked? The uncertainty surrounding these *how* questions made me curious as a researcher to explore this phenomenon in great detail. As I read more, I realised that on-the-spot accounts that describe such day-to-day work in-depth would enrich our understanding. Indeed, the literature suggests we need more accounts that explain how such interactions happen, how people on the ground behave, how these behaviours shape the collaboration. Furthermore, when I immersed myself in the happenings of the informal collaborative work, I discovered that there is a *sense* within the chaos. This sense is slowly built through trial and error, by borrowing on the past experiences, by drawing on other arenas of life such as the social and personal circumstances. My research has focused on capturing and recreating this sense through the written word. The theoretical perspective that I have used to comprehend this sense suggests that crafting multiple explanations of collaborative behaviours is likely to offer a useful path to its understanding. By creating these explanations, we can look not only at the *particular* but also start

systematically imagining the *general* of such a performance. This thesis is an answer to the abovementioned multiple *how* questions.

Accordingly, through a narrative review of the literature on research surrounding collaborations I will claim that while varied, extremely useful and nuanced theorising of collaboration exists, evermore attention is needed to situated human agency and day-to-day work performed in collaborative projects. Through the review of theories that put collaborative practice at their core, I will claim that there is a need to further understand in-the-moment collaborative work. Questions such as 'how do people decide on a particular course of action or an agreed meaning or what is the right thing to do?' need further contextual explanations. To accomplish this, I use ethnography as my research methodology and explore the day-to-day collaborative work of two informal collaborative projects in-depth. Ethnography as methodology can allow us to show the work as it is, to show the work as raw, to show the work as possibly even problematic, incomplete, and nonsensical as opposed to an 'idealised' version of work. Ethnography also allows "telling a convincing story using the language of community members and by weaving observations and insights about culture and practices into the text" (Cunliffe, 2010 pg. 228) and hence is suitable to explore a particular context in-depth.

Consequently, I immersed myself as an insider in unstructured collaborative projects for over 21 months of extensive fieldwork. Qualitative data was collected through reflections, semi-structured interviews, photos, videos, and a systematic record of social media posts and emails. Two projects are analysed in-depth: 1) Share Fair: a project by Eden Project Communities, where the participating organisations set up moneyless day-market events encouraging organisations and people to share skills, stories, things and community spirit, and 2) Rock4Refugees: a project organised by Guildford People to People (GP2P) through annual music events, fundraising and collections to supply humanitarian aid to refugees across Europe and to support other informal non-registered networks combating refugee crisis.

I explore my core research question (how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?) in three ways. First, using my ethnographic narrative of two collaborative events as cases, I offer a rich descriptive empirical account that is a valuable addition to the existing literature on informal collaborations. Second, using concepts from structuration theory (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010), I identify sources of dialectic tensions and contradictions at an interpersonal level as an explanation of the performance of collaborative work in these contexts. Third, I connect an underlying sociological explanation of this *particular* behaviour to a *general* theoretical understanding surrounding collaborative work. My conceptualisation, *human* work of collaborations, pulls these three strands together forming an interpretive answer to my core research question, which augments the current literature surrounding collaboration from a sociological perspective and adds new insights.

Consequently, for modes of theorising that may undervalue the importance of interpersonal interactions in a collaborative setting (market power theory, transaction cost theory, game theory, evolutionary theories, resource-based view), my conceptualisation can act as a prompt to rethink how the day-to-day and in-the-moment performance necessarily and recursively shapes the *whole* of collaborations. However, my contributions are primarily geared towards the modes of theorising that already put the *practice* of collaboration at their centre and identify inherent contradictions and the complexity of the context (dialectic theories, relational contract theory, teleological theory, theory of collaborative advantage). The multifaceted contribution to knowledge that I make accomplishes 1) a situated descriptive account of day-to-day collaborative work, 2) a conceptual unpacking of inherent contradictions at the contextual, but more specifically, at the personal/human level, and 3) a sociological explanation of these inherent contradictions beyond the immediate context, using

analytical generalisation. Furthermore, I problematise some aspects of the current theorisation and identify possibilities to aid the conceptual advancement in research surrounding collaboration.

Having offered an overview of my research in this introductory section, I will now proceed with the research background. Then, the research aim and core question are clarified further. Following, I discuss the value of my undertaking before I summarize the method that I have employed. Before closing the introduction chapter, it was necessary to add a section where I explain my writing style, which may seem unconventional in some parts, and why it was deemed the most appropriate for this specific kind of research. Finally, the last section of the introduction outlines the structure of the whole thesis.

1.1 Research background

This research work has been carried out for a funded doctoral project initially titled 'creating collaborative advantage for public and social value'. It was envisioned to be a qualitative research focused on theorising management and leadership practices in collaborations, primarily within the public or third sector. I proposed an inductive exploratory design to approach the topic. Keeping in line with an inductive design, I began initial fieldwork and attended a wide variety of collaborative community events, both to secure contacts and widen/narrow the scope of research in a suitable manner. This was accompanied by an initial reading of the literature on collaborative work (such as Ring and Van De, 1994; Huxham, 1996; Crosby and Bryson, 2005; Huxham and Vangen, 2005) to increase sensitivity towards (de)selection.

During this early fieldwork and review stage, I found myself fascinated by a peculiar kind of collaborative projects. There was something unique about the informal, organic, unstructured process of these community focused projects that made them possible; the organising principles I had learnt in business studies were routinely thwarted and turned on their heads, and, yet, the events happened, the projects carried on and became stronger. Further, as I read more, there seemed little written about how such collaborative work was made possible on the ground. I noticed a visible gap in terms of an explanation of the day-to-day *practice* in these informal contexts. I started the more definitive access work with a notion of 'exploring informal collaborations'. Out of multiple collaborative projects observed and recorded, two cases were selected to be analysed in depth; this was because the collaborative work observed within these cases was unique, when seen in light of collaboration literature and, yet, data-rich and representative of the phenomenon that I had been observing. While the theoretical grounding significantly changed throughout, my curiosity towards the *becoming* of these projects remained at the heart of research and has guided this whole enterprise.

1.2 Research aim and core question

As noted above, the starting aim of this research, which has retained its form throughout, has been to 'explore informal collaborations'. The purposefully chosen broad nature of the research aim allowed gradual familiarisation with the phenomenon in the earliest stages of research through fieldwork. Based on this familiarisation, in the later stages, the focus was shifted to crafting a narrative of the day-to-day performance of the collaborative work. Towards the end, through the review of the collaboration literature and analysis, the research focus was further refined toward crafting an explanation of the underlying processes that make this collaborative work possible. The research question has been shaped iteratively through this whole process. My fieldwork, review of the literature, selection of theoretical perspective, data analysis, re-reviewing of literature, and the write-up collectively built my understanding of the core question that my thesis was able to ask and begin to answer:

'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?'

1.3 Value of the research

My personal curiosity of the empirical phenomenon and familiarisation with data have primarily driven this work. As I explored this iteratively with increasing knowledge of the literature, the focus of the research was continually refined. However, the review of the literature also suggests a need for creating an answer to the research question I have proposed. Theoretical approaches used to understand collaborations are varied and wide (Cropper *et al.*, 2009). A number of researchers from across this theoretical spectrum draw on the idea of contradictions as an explanatory device to understand collaborations (Das and Teng, 2000; Beech and Huxham, 2003; Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; de Rond, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Jones and Lichtenstein, 2009; Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015; Vangen, 2017). The idea is applied at different levels (systemic, inter-organisational, organisational), however, there is still room to develop this understanding at an interpersonal level. Furthermore, there is also significant work done suggesting that these contradictions at various levels can be connected to generate an integrative understanding of the underlying processes of collaboration (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004). Structuration theory (Giddens, 1984, 2010) has been prominently used to perform such integration. However, of the two-primary means of sociological analysis offered within structuration theory, it is the first, which is the institutional analysis, that has been often used to do this. The use of the other means, the analysis of strategic conduct, remains underdeveloped. My research, which explores how individuals perform collaborative work in a day-to-day setting, identifies and describes contradictions within an interpersonal level and applies the analysis of strategic conduct to arrive at an explanation of the *how* of this behaviour, and, thus, adds value by addressing the underdeveloped areas that I identify in my literature review.

1.4 Research method

I had proposed an inductive exploratory design using qualitative methods at the beginning of this doctoral research work. The initial familiarisation with the phenomenon and literature highlighted the need for crafting on-the-ground narratives of informal collaborations. To create an authentic and plausible narrative, I deemed it necessary to participate in the collaborative work first-hand. Accordingly, ethnography was chosen as the method to accomplish the narrative building. This is because, as Van Maanen notes, "ethnography claims a sort of informative and documentary status – 'bringing back the news' – by the fact that [a researcher chooses to] 'live with and live like' someone else" (2010, p.219). I immersed myself as an insider in two informal collaborative projects for over 21 months. Relational access was gradually built over time. The data collected are my reflections, unstructured/semi-structured interviews, photos, videos, records of social media posts, records of communications, pamphlets, event documents and artefacts used at the events. The two projects discussed are as below:

1. Share Fair: Share Fair is a collaborative project piloted by Eden Project Communities (Eden Project Communities, 2020), which is an initiative of the well-known educational charity and social enterprise The Eden Project, Cornwall (Eden Project, 2020). At Share Fairs, the participating organisations and the individuals come together and set up a day-market where no money changes hands, where people are encouraged to share skills, stories, things, and community spirit. For reader's convenience I provide a link to an audio-visual source that outlines the typical environment nurtured within Share Fairs (Share Fair, 2020). Similar to the happenings on the day itself, the support for organising the Share Fairs and collaborative efforts required to create them is informal, i.e., based on trust, reciprocity, and interpersonal relationships.

2. Rock4Refugees: This is an annual music event organised by Guildford People to People (GP2P, 2017), which is a non-political, grassroots, community organisation supplying humanitarian aid to refugees in Calais, Dunkirk and across Europe. GP2P are non-registered but simply operate as a spontaneous network of like-minded people that care about a social cause. Rock4Refugees is one of the many events (RefuTea, Rave4Refugees) they have organised through the support of various local organisations/groups that further their cause: refugee aid. The charities or groups that they have supported through the funds raised in Rock4Refugees also have a similar organising style, i.e., they consciously operate as informal non-registered networks and utilise the flexibility that this affords in solving extremely unpredictable issues surrounding the refugee crisis.

Thematic analysis is used to craft a descriptive narrative of the above collaborative projects. Beyond the description, I use concepts from structuration theory and perform an analysis of strategic conduct to interpret, analyse and make sense of my findings. The structurationist perspective was used because it allows 1) a careful integration of enacted contradictions (which were prominent within my data) into a theoretical explanation and 2) a possibility to connect a *particular* of the phenomenon to its *general* explanation which can advance theorisation within the field.

1.5 Research style and substance

I undertake a slightly unusual task in this research and, to accomplish it, adopt an unconventional style for my writing. I take inspiration from an already established tradition of differently writing a doctoral thesis (Kara, 2013; Weatherall, 2019) or research work (Gilmore and Harding, [Forthcoming]; Marcus, 1994; Law, 2004; Pullen and Rhodes, 2008; Knights and Clarke, 2017), which attempts to open up, in addition to clarifying, the meaning of a phenomenon. Accordingly, in my thesis I employ storytelling to outline embodied and emotional experiences (see sections 3.2.2, 3.2.4 or 4.3), break the conventions in regards to what should be the 'typical' content of a thesis chapter (see chapters 3, 5, and 6), and highlight the 'chaotic' nature of my method as much as its rigour (see chapter 3, especially 3.4.1). In applying the above techniques typically termed as "messy writing" (Marcus, 1994; Law, 2004) or "dirty writing" (Pullen and Rhodes, 2008), I inadvertently and purposefully use my research as a testing ground and utilize the writing style as theory (Van Maanen, 1995). In adopting this format, my work "does not seek to clean up the mess in its own analytic authority, but rather to attest (as best as writing can do) to that mess" (Pullen and Rhodes, 2008, p.243). The core reason for adopting this approach is that it strongly resonates with the chaos within my research site. The informal collaborative work I was researching was unstructured, serendipitous, unpredictable, full of contradictions, and complex; my immersive account needs to reflect that. My writing style offers the experienced chaos in the fieldwork a space and voice within the typical utopic, sanitised, and clean research write-up.

However, informal collaborative work is not all anarchy and disorder, there is equally a *sense* of order. There is also the momentary stability, lasting understanding and coherence that was synchronic. To capture these elements I follow Aunger (1995) who argues that ethnography is not storytelling or science but always both, he suggests that storytelling can come first, followed by the science. Using the structurationist (Giddens, 1984, 1989, 2010) perspective (which also attributes primacy to ontology as Aunger [1995] suggests doing), I use my ethnographic stories as a basis to then create a *general* explanation of collaborative work. Such exercise aims to generate an evidenced, systematic, and organised imagining of how certain patterns of behaviour are possibly also produced elsewhere. Rather than on its detailed empirical grounding across multiple contexts, such an analytical exercise of creating *post hoc* explanations/hypothesizing should be judged on its internal logical consistency and its plausibility. The value of my endeavour lies in the potential ability of the created theory to stretch and adapt to multiple contexts (Poole *et al.*, 2000; Van De Ven and Poole, 2005). While there

is criticism of general claims based on few cases, there is also strong support for attempting this within the ethnographic tradition; as Van Maanen notes, "[abstracting from a case] triggers what seems to be a deep and abiding fear of the particularistic among critics of ethnography who wonder what, if anything, can be learned from a 'mere case'. The smart-ass but wise answer to this hackneyed but commonplace question is 'all we can' […] The universal it seems can be found in the particular" (2010, p. 227). In my thesis, I begin sketching a picture of the *universal* of collaborative work using a *particular* within the informal context.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The rest of the thesis has been divided into five chapters. In the first, there is a narrative review of the collaboration literature. I examine theoretical perspectives used to understand collaboration and the ways in which the *whole* and *parts* of the collaborative entity have been conceptualised, followed by a discussion of contradictions/paradoxes/tensions within the research surrounding collaborations at various levels. This review helps to identify the state of the field and some areas of research that are underdeveloped, further pointing out the need to explore the day-to-day work of collaboration. This sets the stage for an empirical understanding of the informal collaborative work to unfold.

The subsequent chapter, which presents my methodology, discusses the *how*, *what,* and *why* of my method. I discuss the rigour and suitability of my means to study the chosen phenomenon. However, the reason for my method is extended beyond a simple justification of an 'appropriate' method. This is done to suggest that 'my way of doing things' in this research resonated with 'the way things are done' in informal collaborative work, which allows for a certain knowledge perspective to open up. With the use of the right meta-theoretical perspective (Giddens' structuration theory), I hope to support the argument that an insider researcher's reflexive understanding is to be treated as an equally important indicator of how (ontologically) things are (in line with a realist epistemology). I purposefully adopt an unorthodox structure for this chapter to convey the theoretical underpinnings to my research work and my core argument.

The presentation of the findings follows next, which offers an immersive ethnographic narrative of informal collaborative work. I present the data in a relatively non-normative manner and without the use of any specific theoretical underpinning. Each project account is divided in three parts: origin and development, inter-organisational context, and functioning of the project. The last section, functioning of the project, is further divided into planning up to the day, performing on the day, and following up. I describe the *who*, *when*, *what*, and *how* of these collaborative projects through accounts of day-to-day work as a descriptive answer to my research question. The last section of this chapter, tales of collaborative work, strengthens this answer further by presenting vignettes of interactions that highlight the embodied experiences of the organisers, their emotions, their expectations, anxieties, and hopes which shape this work.

In the following chapter, interpretation of findings, I discuss my findings and use concepts from structuration theory to craft interpretive answers towards my research question. Compared to the descriptive answer created in the presentation of findings chapter, these are at a deeper level of abstraction. First, I identify three sources of dialectical tensions within my themes: ethicality, consensus building, and meaning making. I show that informal collaborative work is performed by playing with the seemingly opposites, by performing actions in one manner in a situation and exactly in the opposite manner in another situation, while deeming both as correct and coherent. I interpret these behaviours as contradictory enactments of structures of signification, legitimisation and domination (Giddens, 1984, 2010). Second, using analytical generalisation I discuss such collaborative work beyond the immediate context. I outline a descriptive explanation of agency and offer a model of cognitive structural space within which agentic interventions are carried out. In doing so, I claim

that collaborators consciously humanise the organising practices, only tenuously relying on, and in turn modifying the 'dehumanised organising principles' surrounding the collaborative work. I term this behaviour '*human* work of collaboration'. I argue that this term captures a plausible *post hoc* explanation of collaborative work that can be extended to and applied within other collaborative contexts.

The last chapter, discussion and conclusion, draws the fragmentary answers to my research question, presented in previous two chapters together. I organise them as a descriptive answer, a contextual application, and a theoretical explanation toward the same research question. Subsequently, I discuss them against collaboration literature and highlight my contributions. I conclude the thesis with a short summary that reflects on limitations of this research and outlines the directions for future research.

2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline how the extant literature surrounding collaboration shapes and informs my research question: 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' In keeping with the ethnographic spirit of my work, I begin this section with an 'audit trail of my thoughts' (following Lindner, 2011). This is because such an audit trail assists in reflecting on what were my pre-conceived notions when I started this research, and further, it aids in discussion of how my emergent understanding has shifted and the research question, as well as the subsequent answer I offer, is shaped out of, and related to existing research.

I started the literature review by familiarising myself with theoretical approaches to understanding collaboration, which often paint a picture of collaborations as extremely complex yet relatively unitary entities, at least ontologically and analytically (for further review and many notable exceptions, see Cropper *et al.*, 2009). There is a discussion of the phases/stages that collaborations develop through (Ring and Van De Ven, 1994; Himmelman, 1996; Mattessich, Murray-Close and Monsey, 2001; Pratt, Gordon and Plamping, 2005; Bryson, Crosby and Stone, 2006; Gray, 2009). There is a discussion of the elements, dimensions and themes that make up or represent aspects of collaboration (Huxham, 1996; Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Thomson and Perry, 2006; Thomson, Perry and Miller, 2007). There is also a discussion of the environmental determinants that allow some collaborations to prevail (Hannan and Freeman, 1984; Powell, Koput, K.W. and Smith-Doerr, 1996; Polos, Hannan and Carroll, 2002; Doreian and Stockman, 2003; Lomi, Larsen and Freeman, 2005; Powell *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, there is a strong awareness that the experience of collaborating is much more complex than any isolated theoretical underpinning can explain (Osborn and Hagedoorn, 1997a; Das and Teng, 2000; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; de Rond, 2003; Gray, 2009; Hibbert, Huxham and Ring, 2009; Vangen, 2017). Typically, the research has focused on a deeper exploration of these phases, stages, factors, dimensions, themes, *inter alia* that can get us closer to an understanding of collaborations from multiple theoretical perspectives.

During this familiarisation, and while performing earlier stages of my fieldwork, I faced a pertinent challenge: what I was reading did not satisfactorily explain what I was observing. Different terminologies were being used in the literature regarding similar actions that I was observing in the field. Moreover, there was confusion about the commonplace words and their meaning in each context (for example, regarding 'consensus', while the literature was discussing things that were at best only tangential to the practice, I was observing something distinct in the *doing* of collaborative projects). However, a conceptual tool 'contradictions', allowed me to make sense of what I empirically observed. As an explanatory device, contradictions have been prevalent in collaborations literature (Das and Teng, 2000; Beech and Huxham, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Jacklin-jarvis, 2015). The idea that different interrelated contradictions were being enacted at different levels helped me mitigate the terminological confusion in fieldwork. Furthermore, research has also advanced a pluralist integrative perspective that shows potential for combining various strand of contradictory enactments (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003 among others); this reassured me that the felt imbalance in literature towards order and stability can still be understood as another layer of the same picture that also has disorder and instability built into it . Building on these works as well as my familiarisation with the empirical, contradictions became a key concept in my own analysis and theoretical explanations.

Towards the end of my research journey, I have stepped away from certain conceptions of collaboration predominant in the theoretical approaches used to understand collaborations, more specifically, from any assumptions of the collaborative entity's stability. Hence, my current understanding (see Figure 1) points towards collaborations as a quasi-stable system continuously in the making. As my research will evidence, conceptualising collaborations as fluid constructions through agents' actions, without any definitive meanings has the potential to offer a rich understanding. Building on research work that have already began developing this stance from a pluralist integrative perspective (de Rond, 2003; Sydow and Windeler, 2003 among others), and structuration theory (Giddens, 1984, 2010), I suggest that collaborations emerge as an outcome of agents' actions while simultaneously acting as rules/resources for understanding what collaboration's meaning is. Moreover, aspects that can lend to theoretical understanding are situational, contextual, and personal. This conception has led my research focus on the process of *becoming* of collaboration.

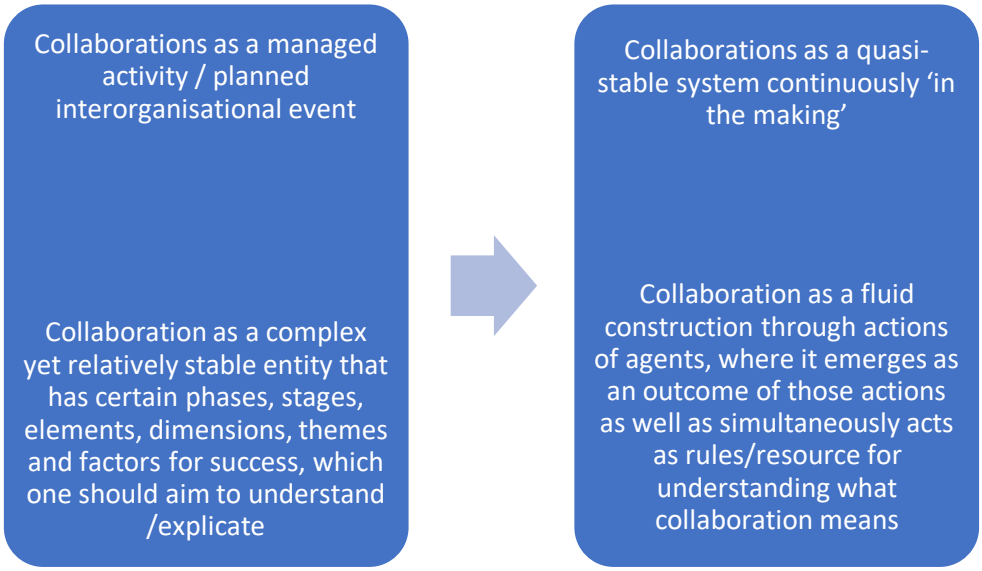


Figure 1: Shift in my thinking during research journey toward conception of collaborations

Building on my audit trail of thoughts, the different aspects that I have discussed so far are connected as presented below (see Figure 2). It is necessary to review all of these elements because in my discussions, I position my findings against each of these aspects in *parts* as well as a *whole.* Further, I aim to craft an answer to my research question, which when stretched using analytical generalisation can be plausible and useful beyond the immediate context. To be able do this, it is important to construct an overview of the research surrounding collaboration, which is what I accomplish using a narrative review of below elements in this chapter. Accordingly, the structure presented in the Figure 2 has been adopted for my literature review.

Aims of the literature review

My core research question explores the conduct of day-to-day collaborative work. By understanding the theoretical basis on which performance of day-to-day collaborative work is conceptualised thus far (for which contradictions has been a key concept), my findings will be positioned as an *in-situ* explanation that adds to the current insights in a descriptive manner. Beyond this, using structurationist perspective, I intend to discuss the possibility to interrelate aspects of the current theoretical basis and extend them further, for which it is necessary to identify a 'state of the field'. Hence,

- The first section of the review aims to presents a brief summary of theoretical approaches that have been used to understand collaborations.
- Secondly, given the core importance that the concept 'contradiction' plays in my research, the review aims at generating a critical discussion of how understandings of contradictions at various levels, can further understanding of collaboration.

Based on the above, the conclusion of this review will contend the need to further develop the situated, time-bound, personal, and particular character of day-to-day collaborative work that is enmeshed in performance of contradictions.

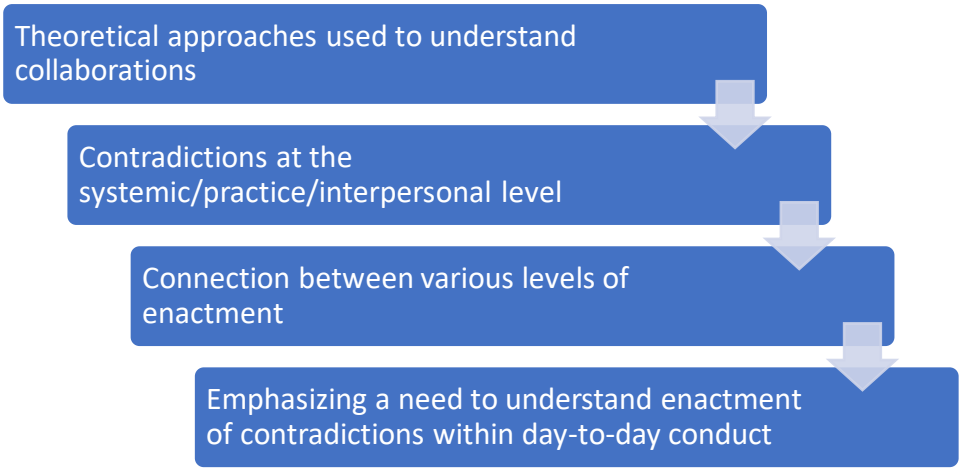


Figure 2: Ideas discussed within the literature review

Technique of the review

A preliminary literature search was performed with the use of combination of keywords: collaboration, collaborative work, contradiction, paradoxes. The keywords were driven by my research question as well as data collection. Paper trail has been identified as a useful technique (Graf, 2015; Garrard, 2017) and proved to be the most reliable method of generating further pertinent literature. A narrative style of the literature review is appropriate for my stated aim above, where only prominent voices surrounding the key ideas are discussed (following Baumeister and Leary, 1997; Hammersley, 2001; Green, Johnson and Adams, 2006; also, see Grant and Booth, 2009; Paré *et al.*, 2015 for typology). My narrative review of collaboration does not intend to be representative, exhaustive or systematic but is instead useful in outlining the state of the field (as suggested by Green, Johnson and Adams, 2006). Such 'state of the field' review can help to address the research question beyond the immediate empirical setting by allowing positioning (Halkier, 2011). Indeed, using structuration theory, I intend to answer my research question at a level of abstraction beyond the empirical, which narrative review can support by providing a context for describing, elaborating, and evaluating the plausible explanations or by offering the option of integration of existing explanations (Baumeister and Leary, 1997). Furthermore, as is common in inductive ethnographic research, the literature review has been conducted at various stages during the research process, with a heavy focus towards the end stages, at which point the empirical findings and the intended theoretical contributions were tentatively clear (a technique supported by Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Prill-bret, 2011). This process has helped me in identifying a sharper focus for literature selection. Nevertheless, the findings and contributions have emerged iteratively throughout the process.

Focus/scope of the review

To answer the core research question (i.e., how is collaborative work performed in a day-to-day basis?) my findings focus on the interventions of actors within collaborative projects. These interventions realise at a practice level (the day-to-day 'in the moment' collaborative work) but are understood as an abstract theoretical construct (human agency/agentic interventions). Thus, the practical level is highly contextual, narrow, and specific, whereas the theoretical construct is broad, varied, and widely applicable. Inevitably, to bridge these levels together, my literature review is both considerably broad and narrow at the same time, that is, all the accounts of collaborative work (pertaining to different contexts, industries, working arrangements, sectors, groups sizes) are relevant but my focus is limited to the abstract theorisation that is used to grasp the underlying mechanisms of the collaborative work. Moreover, resonating with the essence of the data and themes presented in this thesis, the focus is further situated on the review of contradictions inherent within collaborative work and day-to-day interactions that connect agency across multiple possible levels where collaborations operate/exist.

As outlined in Figure 2 the next section begins with the discussion of theoretical approaches used to understand collaborative work. This is followed by a review of the tensions, conflicts, dilemmas, contradictions, and paradoxes at multiple levels. I also discuss the research that has advanced an integrative perspective, thus connecting the above levels. The summary outlines the need to understand day-to-day collaborative work further.

2.2 Theoretical approaches to understanding collaboration

Collating and summarising theorisation surrounding collaborative projects is not an easy task (Cropper *et al.*, 2009). The difficulty is rooted in multiple causes: 1) definitional issues surrounding collaboration 2) wide variety of possible choices for theorisation originating in different disciplines (3) varied *raison d'etre* of theorising (predictability, comprehension, description, intervention) which has led to focus on different aspects of collaborative work (life cycle, dynamics, process) and 4) conflation of various levels at which collaborative projects are assumed to operate and exist (personal, interpersonal, organisational, interorganisational) leading to varied units of analysis and consequent fragmented theorising. Similar to Cropper *et al.* (2009), I fully acknowledge the issues above and submit that these could (and perhaps should) never be overcome. I strongly posit that this variety, while sometimes baffling, sows seeds for a richer understanding. My review, which is another story, is simply incomplete and one of many; each account adding richness and nuance towards understanding of a very complex phenomenon, albeit in a different light. For this, without simply reproducing the accounts that others have put forth, and whilst appropriating de Rond's (2003) advice to adopt not a variety of theories but *theories of variety,* the first section of my review adds and updates the previous reviews of collaboration theory. This creates a context against which an abstract answer to my research question can be discussed.

Das and Teng's (2000) contention that the multiple mainstream theoretical perspectives used to understand alliances are incomplete or weak is perhaps the first prominent voice we find within research on collaboration suggesting so. That suggestion has since then been reiterated in slightly different format over the years and is still relevant as noted by Vangen (2017, p.265): "mainstream theories—such as transaction cost theory, game theory, resource dependence theory, agency theory, and strategic behaviour theory—do not adequately capture the complexity of collaboration". In regards the theoretical perspectives, two in-depth reviews stand out. de Rond (2003) has reviewed six economic theory perspectives: market power theory, transaction cost theory, the resource-based view, agency theory, game theory, and real options theory, and four organisational theory/sociology perspectives: resource dependence theory, relational contract theory, organisational learning theory, and social network theory. Through this exercise he outlines the limitations of each theory and

suggests that they are unable to capture the richness and complexity of collaborations in isolation. He resynthesises these perspectives using the 'ideal type' developmental theories (Van De Ven and Poole, 1995) and suggests that while the first three: life-cycle, teleological and evolutionary theories have been predominant in the collaboration literature, the fourth type: dialectics needs more attention. Similarly, an exhaustive review of, in their own words, 'jungle of theories' can be found in Handbook of Interorganisational Relationships (IOR) where authors outline various theoretical perspectives used to view collaborations, classifying them in seven categories of theoretical underpinnings and suggest that each of them might be incomplete in its own right (Hibbert, Huxham and Ring, 2009). In Table 1 below, I have reorganised the classification offered by the above two reviews, updated the identified areas with recent literature and further outlined key characteristics and limitations of each perspective.

Synthesized as	*Underlying theories / perspectives*	*Characteristics of theory*	*Key examples that have used the underpinning*	*Potential limitations towards comprehension of collaborative entity*
Economic theory perspectives (expanded using work of de Rond, 2003)	Market power theory	External factors and market position shapes managerial decisions regarding collaborations	(Gulati, 1995; Madhvan, Koka and Prescott, 1998; Stuart, 1998; Lomi, Negro and Fonti, 2009; Roketskiy, 2018)	-Relatively positivistic theory that assumes 'out there' environment -May not leave room for genuine choice – deterministic nature of norms
	Transaction cost theory	Cooperation posited as cost-effective method of organising business	(Anderson and Gatignon, 1986; Hennert, 1988, 1991; Gates, 1989; Pissano, 1990; Brockhoff, 1992; Jobin, 2008; Sinnewe, Charles and Keast, 2016)	-Positive rather than normative in orientation and ignores relational aspects -Relatively deterministic and static -Concerned only with issues of efficiency and control
	The resource-based view	Collaborative projects can allow reshaping of resources making them unique and competitive	(Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Arya and Lin, 2007; Philbin, 2012)	-Tacitly held resources (working culture), when seen as competitive advantage, require different capabilities to absorb/reproduce than only economic
	Agency theory	Rational active agent as positioner of resources that enables collaboration	(Child and Faulkner, 1998; Reade, 2010; Joyner, 2011; Li *et al.*, 2015)	-Classical assumptions which views human subjects as self-interested, opportunistic, subject to bounded rationality, and risk averse
	Game theory	Interests and actions of individuals modelled as games to identify strategies that reward cooperation	(Ma *et al.*, 2014; Arsenyan, Büyüközkan and Feyzioglu, 2015; Moura, Marinheiro and Silva, 2015; Wang, 2018)	-Inevitable simplification of real-life scenarios -Does not account for social embeddedness and variety in perspectives
	Real options theory	Multitudes of cooperation initiatives are seen to be generating choices, some of which may prosper	(Copeland and Keenan, 1998; Amram and Kulatilaka, 1999; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Kogut and Kulatilaka, 2001; Morreale, 2015)	-Predatory perspective on cooperative behaviour -Static and fairly deterministic characteristics offer limited explanation of dynamics
Organisational theory /sociology perspectives (expanded using work of de Rond, 2003)	Resource dependence theory	Resources envisioned as outside of organisation – collaboration presents opportunity to access them for control	(Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Ulbrich and Borman, 2012; Malatesta and Smith, 2014; Donato, 2016)	-Not process friendly as it is fairly normative in its focus on rational constructs -Assumes relatively unproblematic transfer of what is identified as resources
	Relational contract theory	Focus on relational dynamic and trust instead of formal contracts to explicate behaviour	(Gulati, 1995; Nooteboom, 2009; Malhotra and Lumineau, 2011; Minnaar *et al.*, 2017)	-Severe definitional issues surrounding concepts such as relational contracts and trust

	Organisational learning theory	Knowledge capabilities of organisation as core focus – collaboration posited to improve these abilities	(Hamel, Doz and Prahalad, 1989; Hamel, 1991; Inkpen and Crossan, 1995; Child and Rodriguez, 1996; Doz, 1996a; Al-Harrasi, 2014; Melvin, 2019)	-Lacks empirical examples that have moved beyond in-depth case studies -Minimises impact of materiality, inertia, and non-learning-oriented processes
	Social network theory	Focus on features of network of connectedness that collaborations constitute	(Gulati, 1995; Walker, Kogut and Shan, 1997; Ebers and Oliver, 1998; Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Bizzi and Langley, 2012; Michaelides *et al.*, 2013)	-Emphasises structure at the expense of action -Focus on dyadic relations under signifies formation, evolution, and performance
VII Categories of theoretical foundation /perspective (expanded using work of Hibbert, Huxham and Ring, 2009)	I: Lifecycles, Phases, and Stages	Consideration of collaboration as passing through a set of phases or stages, referred to as a lifecycle usually case study driven	(Gray, 1991; Ring and Van De Ven, 1994; Himmelman, 1996; Mattessich, Murray-Close and Monsey, 2001; Edelenbos, 2005; Pratt, Gordon and Plamping, 2005; Bryson, Crosby and Stone, 2006; Williams and Sullivan, 2007)	-Atomistic treatment of a complex phenomenon -Phases often become prescriptive tools - Variety of such phases are possible to identify and there is no agreement on clear means of separation
	II: Analytic Conceptualizations	Modelling of collaboration related to structural theories to provide a base for managerial action	(Anslinger and Jenk, 2004; Harland *et al.*, 2004; Ernst and Bramford, 2005; Thomson and Perry, 2006; Thomson, Perry and Miller, 2007)	-Hard to achieve any consensus about the nature of items in typology -Excessive focus on parts rather than the whole of collaboration
	III: Success and Failure Factors	Description of generic factors that affect the success or failure of collaboration	(Child, 2001; Mayo and Taylor, 2001; Medcoff, 2001; Shenker and Yan, 2002; Buchel, 2003; Fitzpatrick and Dilullo, 2005; Bachmann and Zaheer, 2009)	-A prescriptive focus towards implications -Factors made up uncontrollable environmental attributes or relational (only partly manageable) -Representative of perception of those involved and not actual factors
	IV: Competencies, Behaviours, and Tasks	Practice orientation combined with structural consideration to explore the actions/abilities required	(Child and Faulkner, 1998; Spekman *et al.*, 1998; Kale, Dyer and Singh, 2001; Draulan, Deman and Volberda, 2003; de Man, 2005; Hoffman, 2005)	-Focus on individual action but framed at organisational level in terms of capabilities to retain -Attention to tasks that lead to success – a linear view
	V: Guidelines and Process Steps	Using perspective in category IV, creation of lists/soundbites to enable actions	(Bergquist, Betwee and Meuel, 1995; Das and Teng, 2000; Spekman, Isabella and MacAvoy, 2000; Mankin and Cohen, 2004; Lank, 2006)	-Soundbites of good practice that suggest clear imperatives -Lack of underlying detailed explanation
	VI: Tools & Facilitation	Focus on the means that can be used to facilitate the actions prescribed in IV and V	(Shaughnessy, 1994; Winer and Ray, 1994; Ackermann *et al.*, 2005; Friend and Hickling, 2005; Gray, 2009)	-Rather eclectic focus on intervention -Often the presence of a formal facilitator is assumed rather than role being assumed by participants
	VII: Themes Approach / Reflective Practice	TCA as basis for managerial action -Central focus on practices that combines processual and structural considerations	(Crosby and Bryson, 2005a; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Imperial, 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2011; Vangen, 2017)	-Fluid nature of insights – acts as a stimulus for thoughts (hard to hold onto) - Focus on managing practice of collaboration rather than discovering its ontic nature

Table 1: Synthesis of research on collaboration - adapted from de Rond (2003) and Hibbert, Huxham and Ring, (2009)

For the purposes of this review, rather than in-depth discussion of each mainstream theory/perspective, it is more valuable to see how the *whole* and *parts* of collaborative entity have been conceptualised, leading to a specific analytical focus. This is important for my work because I will recommend that many of these seemingly incompatible perspectives (for example game theory and relational contract theory) may have more in common than not. To facilitate such a summarising, I follow authors (Van De Ven and Poole, 1995; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004; Joyner, 2011) who have organised research on collaboration in four types of development theories: life cycle, teleological, evolutionary and dialectic. The classification in these types is not definitive (TCA - Theory of Collaborative Advantage (Huxham and Vangen, 2005), for example, could be considered both teleological and dialectic or neither) but such a cursory division is nevertheless useful as it allows to break massive theoretical chunks in more manageable pieces. Further, the literature has significantly developed since the abovementioned reviews were conducted, even modifying the essential character of these theoretical types; a revisit is hence apt and relevant.

2.2.1 Life cycle theories

Various authors (Ring and Van De Ven, 1994; Himmelman, 1996; Mattessich, Murray-Close and Monsey, 2001; Pratt, Gordon and Plamping, 2005; Bryson, Crosby and Stone, 2006; Gray, 2009), aimed at facilitating practice through the theoretical notions, view collaborations as a sequential interorganisational activity and expand on this idea to identify a continuum of stages, phases, and/or temporal key factors that constitute collaborations. The research then focuses on identifying aspects of each phase and attempts to understand and modify these stages to move the collaboration to a more desired state. This approach has been prominent in the literature, despite the numerous limitations that have been identified: linearity and atomistic treatment (de Rond, 2003), prominent variations (Ring, Doz and Olk, 2005), prescriptive nature (Hibbert, Huxham and Ring, 2009) *inter alia*. A noteworthy example is Gray (1991), who defines a clear three-step collaborative process: problem setting, direction setting, and implementation and monitoring. Similarly, Edelenbos (2005) identifies a three-step process that includes preparation, plan development, and decision making, each step having a range of sub-stages. Williams and Sullivan, (2007) identify seven stages of building partnerships, Himmelman (1996) suggesting twenty; the detail varies per context. It is to be noted that the idea of complexity of collaborations is not entirely lost in such 'linear stages' conceptualisations but usually an effort is made to represent it through a cyclic or emergent nature of the interorganisational activity. As de Rond (2003) suggests however, simply noting that collaborative projects have a beginning, middle and end does not add much to our understanding of them, yet, it can be a useful starting point.

2.2.2 Teleological theories

To overcome the linear or sequential characteristics of the life cycle stages, the teleological approach views collaboration as a whole, a linked interdependent mesh of elements, dimensions, or themes. The notion of beginning, middle and end are still there, but tentative and iterative nature is underlined. This approach is able to offer a way to conceptualise the interconnectedness and complexity of reality in a more comprehensive manner. For instance, Ring and Van De Ven (1994) propose seeing collaborations as a continuous realisation of negotiations, commitments, and executions – each aided by formal and informal processes together. The process of such becoming is not predictable or controllable and can be only be understood post-hoc. Each aspect triggers the next one in cyclical manner but the incompleteness of each of these aspects is in itself a trigger for next cycle to initiate. Doz (1996b) proposes a similar cycle of initial conditions—learning—revaluation—revised conditions; the revised conditions are the initial condition for next iteration to begin. Furthermore, collaborations have also been visualised as five non-sequential interrelated dimensions

of processes (Thomson and Perry, 2006; Thomson, Perry and Miller, 2007). The authors suggest that five dimensions, which consist of collaborative governance, administration, organisational autonomy, mutuality, and norms, are balanced constantly, with considerable investment of money, time, and effort to reach an equilibrium that will make the collaborative work possible. This equilibrium, like the models discussed above, is made and remade anew with every crack that appears in each interrelated dimension. An even more notable illustration of the 'thematic elements' approach is Huxham (1996), who answers the question 'what is collaboration?' by distinguishing three dimensions of the variety of meanings associated with the term as 1) an organisational form, 2) as a structural form and 3) as a dimension of rationales. The detailed research-oriented action research further undertaken, which is built through a number of research oriented action interventions over two decades (e.g. Huxham, 1996; Vangen and Huxham, 2003, 2011; Huxham and Vangen, 2004, 2005; Vangen and Winchester, 2014), presents a convincingly intricate picture of entangled ideas as 'Themes in Collaboration Practice'. These themes are concerned with the management of collaboration rather than identifying its ontic form, but parts of this theory, nevertheless indicate collaboration as made up of messy intertangled elements continuously *becoming*. Such teleological theories, while fairly accommodating for the complexity of the phenomenon, and following a more processual outlook than the life-cycle type, still have to manage difficulties regarding the consensus about the nature of items in their typology. As the focus is typically on a complex practice, by their very nature, similar items are identified as different things in different theoretical lenses, but how all of these are interrelated is not entirely made clear through the teleological perspective. Each individual research adds to descriptive understanding of themes, elements, or dimensions but understanding how they link to one another is not a primary concern of teleological research work.

2.2.3 Evolutionary theories

Evolutionary theories follow a more eclectic approach, with somewhat rigid but clear definitions surrounding the phenomenon to identify the interorganisational projects as competing organisms in an evolving environment, aiming to identify factors that bring about the selection and de-selection of some projects over the others. Lomi, Negro and Fonti (2009) offer a detailed review of evolutionary perspectives, particularly focusing on the ways in which inter-organisational relationships have been examined among organisational population and communities. The evolutionary approach works by grounding certain assumptions: change is a process that requires little or no oversight, environments trigger process of 'rotation' at population and community level, the fitness towards selection in this rotation is contingent on complex competitive, political, institutional and historical events, and finally, the determinants of performance and survival are never obvious *ex ante*, that is before it happens (Lomi, Negro and Fonti, 2009). As the organisations are assumed to be incomplete entities, the research focus is shifted to the links in-between and the environment; aggregates are to be clearly defined and studied. Numerous authors define these aggregates at the level of organisational population (Hannan and Freeman, 1984; Powell, Koput, K.W. and Smith-Doerr, 1996; Polos, Hannan and Carroll, 2002; Doreian and Stockman, 2003; Lomi, Larsen and Freeman, 2005; Powell *et al.*, 2005) which retains a mildly monolithic view of collective actors. Another perspectives defines aggregates in terms of the observable exchange flow, considering networks as a fluid social field (DiMaggio, 1986; Kilduff and Tsai, 2003; Freeman and Audia, 2006; Kim, Oh and Swaminathan, 2006). Through such niche focus, the evolutionary theories manage to distance themselves from the deterministic approach that some of its earlier variants (market power, social network theories) adopt. However, the focus remains heavily on the environment, often at the expense of explanations of agentic role (mainly through the bracketing of the levels at which analysis could emphasize agentic interventions). While evolutionary perspectives are able to offer an understanding of structural or institutional

changes and retain the ability to address *flux*, the underlying assumptions of the theoretical approach make any agentic intervention almost irrelevant/impossible to incorporate conceptually.

2.2.4 Dialectic theories

The literature on the dialectic theories of collaboration, even with the repeated calls for its consideration (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004; Joyner, 2011; Vangen, 2017) still remains underdeveloped. In some ways, this is unsurprising as the use of dialectics (focus on deeper tensions) pushes the analytical focus away from any clear, predictable, or prescriptive implications for theorising or practice (which has usually been the loci of traditional management theories: identifying ideas/tools/practices/handles that could be adopted by managers/collaborators), and rather, drawing it towards the abstract underlying constructs and their philosophical basis. For this reason, many of the teleological or evolutionary theorists of collaborations appreciate the importance of dialectics as a fundamental explanatory mechanism when studying the becoming of collaborations. Authors that balance this nuance expertly are able to yield benefits that different perspectives offer together. For example, theory of collaborative advantage (Huxham, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005), which I have categorised above as teleological, uses a strong dialectic tension at its core: collaborative advantage vs. collaborative inertia. Using these two contrasting concepts (dialectic orientation) the theory is structured as a set of overlapping themes (teleological orientation), which are predominantly issues that practitioners see as causing pain and reward in collaborative situations, At its core, theory of collaborative advantage remains a practice-oriented theory which is primarily concerned with enhancing practical understanding of the management issues, a concern that is shared by teleological as well as dialectic orientation.

Dialectic theories seem to offer a better explanation for the complexity and tangled nature of various constructs in teleological perspective. This is in accordance with de Rond's (2003) insight, who drawing on Van De Ven and Poole's (1995) review of process paradigms as scaffolds, suggests that the research on collaboration has traversed from life-cycle to teleological to evolutionary to dialectics (see Figure 3). What is still prominent in the research on collaboration however, is the fragmented use of dialectics in situational explanations (Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; Sydow and Windeler, 2003; Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015; Kourti, Garcia-Lorenzo and Yu, 2018), rather than a theoretical insight that is able to make sense of multiple conceptual constructs harmoniously. Nevertheless, the calls for the use of dialectics (for instance in the form of paradox lens) are ongoing (Vangen, 2017).

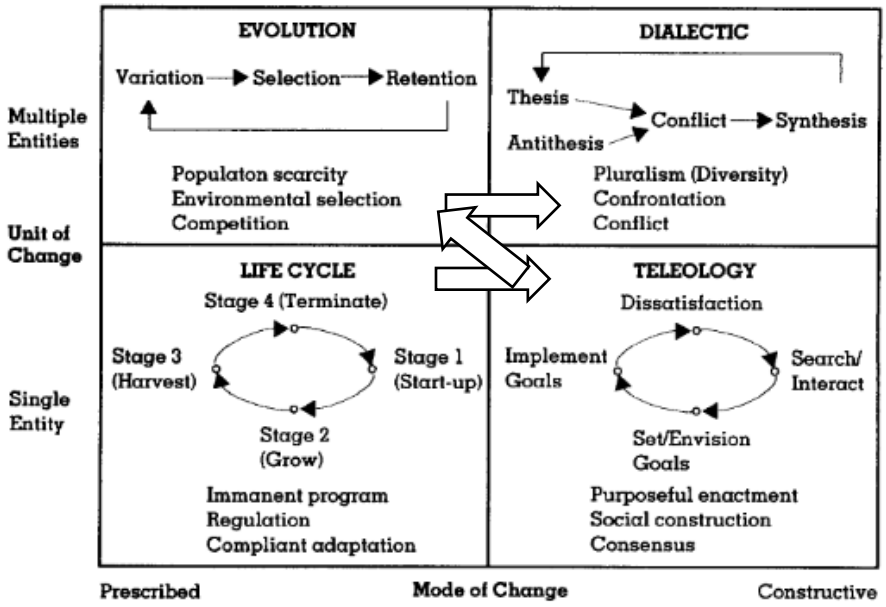


Figure 3: Development of theory approaches (modified from Van de Ven and Poole, 1995, p.520)

Dialectic theories put internal tensions at the core of their focus. These tensions have been framed with various interchangeable terminology including but not limited to conflicts, dilemmas, contradictions and paradoxes. Using this perspective offers an advantage. In many of the approaches reviewed thus far (see Table 1), the collaborative entity is assumed to exist clearly, and also to have been understood with relative simplicity by the involved actors; in such conceptualisation, the underlying assumption of importance of stability leads to an ontological priority to the interorganisational project (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002). On the other hand, viewing any organising process merely as ongoing improvisation (Orlikowski, 1996) or repeated pattern of behaviour as practical accomplishments (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010) allows us to situate the focus "on the role of agency in the way structures are transformed and modified through processes of everyday organisational life" (Feldman, 2000, p.626). For this reason, dialectic perspective is most suited for further discussion in this research. This is because it allows for appreciating and foregrounding the *flux* within collaborations. Dialectics does not prioritise entity over the actions of actors and is able to sense the complex connections more closely. During my research journey, dialectic perspective (and more specifically, contradictions) helped me make sense of the order within the chaos that was prominently visible in my research site. The following section will explore the use of dialectics within research exploring collaborative work.

2.3 Tensions, conflicts, dilemmas, contradictions, and paradoxes in collaborative work

As the dialectic perspective slowly matures over the years, we are seeing emergence of multifaceted, rich fragments of theories that attempt to accommodate complexity of collaborative phenomena. For over two decades now, there seems to be a growing consensus that collaborations are inherently contradictory and paradoxical (Das and Teng, 2000; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2011; August, 2012; Gottlieb and Haugbølle, 2013; Miltenberger, 2013; Vangen and Winchester, 2014; Vangen, 2017; Kourti, Garcia-Lorenzo and Yu, 2018). There are ongoing attempts to identify the plethora of contradictions, situate their interconnectedness, realise the reasons for their occurrence, efforts to manage (not necessarily resolve) them and repeated calls for incorporating them within a wider integrative perspective (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004).

To organise the discussion of contradictions within collaborative work, I begin with the *general* and proceed to the *particular* by using the levels identified by Fairfield and Wing (2008). While examining collaboration in grant-making relationship context, their exploratory study organises relationship (and contradictions within them) at three levels: systemic level, interorganisational level, interpersonal level (Fairfield and Wing, 2008). I apply a similar strategy because such organising offers a systematic way to examine contradictions that are otherwise enmeshed during enactment, and also, it offers a way to avoid analytical conflation between these levels. However, I do clearly recognise that the *practice* of collaborative work necessarily means enacting these simultaneously, and hence, the subsequent section reviews works that have cautiously and purposefully connected (rather than conflated) these levels.

2.3.1 Contradictions at (inter)entity/systemic level

Inter-entity/systemic level is understood here as being beyond the entity of collaboration. The contradictions at this level are abstracted beyond collaboration and are either environmental, part of nature of collaborative work or part of a wider context, which is distinguished from the entity in theorisation. Hence, studies that examine the contradictions at a systemic or (inter)entity level focus on the contextual characterisation of inherent contradictions and highlight the openness of collaboration as a system within systems. Das and Teng (2000), for example, use an internal tensions framework to explain inherent instability of collaborations. They identify three pairs of competing forces: 1) cooperation-competition, 2) rigidity-flexibility and 3) short-term vs long term orientation as inherent contradictions of nature of collaborative work. They suggest these contradictions to be more salient in alliances than a single organisation; hence, leading to a higher instability of alliances. They suggest that collaborations can be seen as open system characterised by these three tensions. They put forth three propositions suggesting that the difference between the three competing forces affects the stability of alliances. One of the unique aspects that their model identifies, is how the temporal orientation affects both the other core tensions, which leads to a modelling of relationship between the three tensions. A combination of high-medium-low tension in each of the three in combination is predicted to lead to either the stability, dissolution, or merger of collaborations. The work seems to be one of the first attempts to subsume various strands of theory (relational contract, transaction cost, game theory, resource dependence among others) into a paradox perspective. Even prior to this and since, the cooperation-competition as a characteristic contradiction of collaborations has been recognised by a number of authors (Child and Faulkner, 1998; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; Zeng and Chen, 2003). Clarke-hill, Li and Davies (2003) proposes viewing competition and cooperation as a duality and consequently combining strategic positioning, resource-based view, and game theory in a multi-paradigmatic perspective to understand strategic behaviour within collaboration. They discuss, in detail, each of the three perspectives and how it could be used within a non-static, non-linear, non-atomistic view of cooperation-competition duality. Clarke-hill, Li and Davies (2003) also propose a discussion of the time and direction of duality (four components – synchronic-diachronic, vertical-horizontal at different levels) that needs to be considered when discussing paradoxes within collaborations. In a similar vein to Das and Teng (2000), they recommend employing a perspective with a temporal dimension with an emphasis on the interactions of the opposites.

The systemic, context driven, and external factor driven character of contradictions is also quite prominent in a lot of the case studies on collaborations, even in widely different contexts. For example, it has been suggested that while collaborating is inherently problematic, non-profit-government collaborations are even more so due to unique context, power imbalance and lack of communications between them (Miltenberger, 2013). Using the case of New York city contracting process between city and non-profit vendors, where a standard human service contract was developed by two leaders in

collaboration with the city, Miltenberger (2013) suggest that formal contracts might be inevitable for collaborations to be successful. Author advises non-profit leaders working with government to recognise informal power they have, be sympathetic to constraints that government officials have to work with, have clear written formal contract for structuring relationship and view contracts through a 'whole system' view. However, the study recognises that formal contracts do not imply successful collaboration and multiple instances where the contrary is true exist, as the 'whole system' inherits contradictions, they cannot be tackled by formalising smaller aspects of individual enactments. In a different context, using a case study of Danish construction partnering Gottlieb and Haugbølle (2013) suggest that partnering process, when seen through the lens of activity theory (CHAT), foregrounds the contradictions within. These contradictions can be within different levels of system: primary (within components), secondary (within constituents of central activity system - CAS), tertiary (dominant CAS and culturally advanced CAS) and quaternary (CAS and neighbouring systems – other contexts). Fundamental dynamics of collaboration in construction sector are understood as three activity systems of production, values, and interests, which are intertwined and affect each other. Collaboration is seen as a change strategy that grows from existing practice rather than substitute it. Even if partnering reduces or eliminates some contradictions, it simultaneously introduces others within the system. Using the same CHAT theory, Antoniadou (2011) identifies a number of contradictions when a telecollaborative system was introduced between two culturally different student-teacher settings. The same four contradictions at different levels, as noted above, are identified and it is proposed that the difficulties in the programme arose as these could not be resolved. In this research there is conflation of some of the identification levels for the unit of analysis, sometimes merging enacted conflicts with deeper contradictions. Also, the recognition of continuous nature of contradictions within any existing activity network system is not there, however, the account supports existence of deeper contradictions at a systemic level.

It is also possible to see various such contradictions in the constructs/themes identified in the teleological approaches towards understanding collaborations (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). Based on two extensive research projects and the inductive theorising founded on the consequent ongoing discussion (debates and negotiations about the meaning of a wide variety of data involved in each process of theorising) Beech and Huxham (2003) propose the use of tensions as an effective concept to understand collaborations. In doing so, they also use tension as a theoretical construct that could inform managers about the considerations of their day-to-day as well as long term management. Four levels of conceptual handles using tensions are developed: 1) tension as an alternative form of practice that enables opposite but equally correct action, 2) the notion of multiple continually interacting tensions, 3) identification of specific management areas using the tensions and 4) deconstruction of tensions for theory building, the last three of which are located systemically in collaborative context.

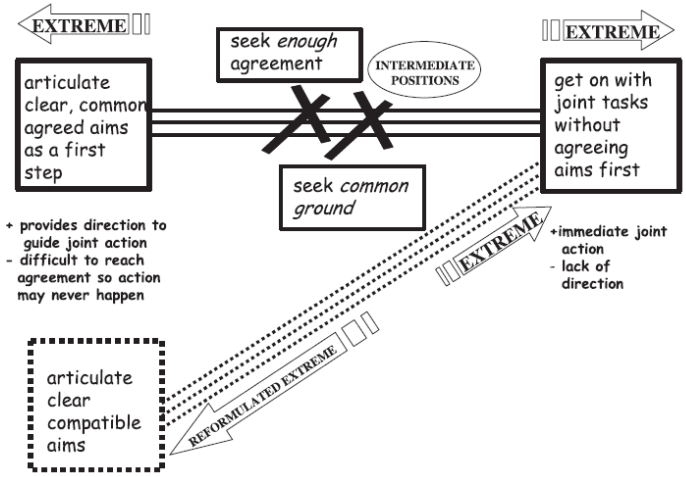


Figure 4: Tensions in managing aims in collaborative setting (Beech and Huxham, 2003, p. 77)

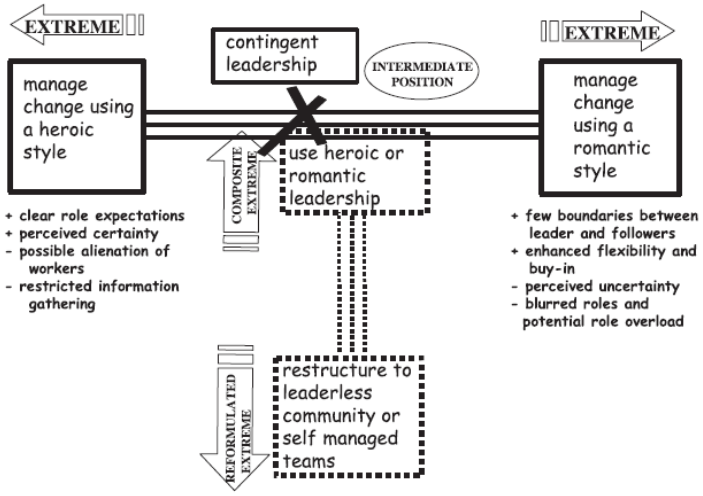


Figure 5: Tensions in styles of leadership (Beech and Huxham, 2003, p.80)

The last suggestion by Beech and Huxham (2003) – deconstructing tensions for theory building seems closely aligned with a wider dialectic perspective. This suggestion has been reinforced by Vangen (2017) who recognises that simultaneously integrating and protecting collaborating partner's unique resources maintains a deep systemic contradiction in collaborative arrangement. Further, autonomous organisational units that deliver supporting services are usually connected through a vertical control and command structure but exist within a horizontal collaborative governance - another source of deep inherent contradiction. Drawing on a long-standing research programme (RO-AR) and synthesis of literature on paradox and collaboration, author develops five propositions/implications for theory through application of paradox lens: 1) collaborations are inherently paradoxical; 2) paradox lens can overcome the limitations of mainstream theories in capturing the complex nature of and tensions embedded in collaborative contexts; 3) detecting and naming paradoxes can aid sensemaking and reduce practitioner anxiety by emphasizing that 'no one solution' is possible; 4) the theoretical concepts need to go beyond simple labelling to elaborate on the kinds of tensions that arise for governing, leading, and managing collaboration in practice, and 5) theory should highlight opposite yet, equally valid and suitable solutions to enable reflection by practitioners. Vangen (2017) suggests that paradox lens, perhaps in complementing the other perspectives, can open up complex insights about collaborations and help practitioners at the same

time. Using this sensibility, we need to understand the reality of collaboration contextually which could, in turn, advance the theorising. Most of the studies discussed so far (Das and Teng, 2000; Beech and Huxham, 2003; Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; Vangen, 2017) have applied dialectics with the warranted care. The concern with contradictory aspects are not situated centrally but aid the sensemaking of the theorising and theorising aids the sensemaking of the empirical, simultaneously, and iteratively. While these studies range in different disciplines, sectors, countries etc. the commonality between them is their characterisation of contradictions within collaborative setting as primarily systemic/contextual. Contradictions are abstracted beyond the collaborative (inter)entity and are conceptualised as an inherent part of the environment within which entity takes shape. For other studies, the contradictions are a much more immediate aspect of the *practice* of collaboration.

2.3.2 Contradictions at the (inter)organisational/practice level

The subsequent level at which contradictions within collaborations are examined is midway between systemic and individual. Authors who theorise by placing contradictory enactment at (inter)organisational/practice level see these to be primarily manifesting as something at least partly beyond the individual but as a product of agentic involvement in a particular context. Contradictions/tensions originate from systemic level but are modified by *happenings* of collaboration i.e., how they are handled.

Connelly, Zang and Faerman (2008) discuss two paradoxes inherent within collaborations 1) assumption that everyone can win, and no one loses anything and 2) the idea that leaders have to simultaneously lead and know when to follow as a precursor to the discussion. For instance, in this argument the first paradox is systemic (inherent nature of collaborative work) but is still a product of agentic intervention through the second paradox (leaders must know how to manage them). They propose a framework consisting of four dimensions: initial dispositions, leadership, issues, and incentives as well as variety and groups to characterise each factor in terms of paradox. Each of these dimensions is related to agents and practiced at interorganisational level. In a similar vein, using two case studies Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) explore how the practice of managing interorganisational networks is paradoxical. They identify six practices of leaders in addressing certain paradoxes of network management in the context of inward or outward collaborative work. They put forth that to address the systemic paradox, which requires both the unity and diversity within network, the leaders, through their practice, strategically facilitate interaction, cultivate personal relationships, and promote openness among network participants. To address the conflicting demands for confrontation and dialogue with the targets, leaders strategically manage the network's credibility, work at various levels of action, and cultivate multiple external relationships. Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) suggest that such inward and outward work is done concurrently rather than sequentially. In recognising this temporal aspect, they recognise the minor conflation of levels within *practice*, but their exploratory study leaves the possibility of further identification open.

The support for unity-diversity paradox has also been illustrated in other studies. While examining the role of a voluntary sector organisation in a cross-sector collaboration, Haslam (2020) has identified that unity-diversity paradox exists besides an inherent tension created by role of voluntary sector organisations as 'transmission belt' i.e. tension between acting as a 'route into' communities as well as/versus a 'voice for' them. Similarly, Jacklin-Jarvis (2015), building the on unity-diversity paradox, proposes that the tensions in a collaborative setting can be identified in three main ways: experienced tensions (choices that need to be made), inherent tensions (unsolvable tensions that exists due to paradoxical nature of collaboration) and tensions as reflexive handles (something to be managed to make sense of collaboration). Using the tension theory and the voluntary sector actors as the focus of the study, these three kinds of tensions are identified within the empirical practice of collaborative

work as: agency/dependency, values/pragmatism, and distinctiveness/incorporation. This author identifies that these contradictions are rooted within the inherent tension of unity vs diversity which needs to be managed to gain collaborative advantages. The study suggests that within the empirical setting - the context of children's service - power asymmetry also impacts and gives rise to multiple tensions. This is because the participants refrain from confronting the power dynamic but adapt mechanisms to cope (informal backstage tactic etc.), which in turn changes the underlying power dynamics. So, the context plays a heavy role, but the identification of enacted contradictions is not solely at a contextual/systemic level but closely related to actions of individuals in collaborative situations.

There is another view that positions various contradictions at this intermediary level; many authors view collaborations as a balancing act of the two opposing effects simultaneously: benefits vs. challenges. Most research works that discuss such aspects rely predominantly on the empirical evidence from the case studies; the narrative typically begins by describing contextual challenges, ups and downs of the process as collaboration develops, and concludes with how the collaboration persevered through agentic intervention while creating positive effects. For example, Babiak and Thibault (2009), through case study analysis present two strands of challenges: the structural challenges –those referring to governance, roles, responsibilities in partnership, and the complexity of the partnership forms and strategic challenges - those referring to competition vs. collaboration. They also identify benefits possible in the form of financial capital, expertise and organisational legitimacy but discuss how they are enacted through actions of participants. Also, Kara (2014) outlines the different benefits (learning, sharing information etc.) and challenges (competition, marketization, changes of legislation, rural location, competition with market, time-consuming, inequality, resource-intensive, etc.) arguing that the cross-sector partnerships are in need of capability-building support because they are complex, and we need better tools to assess their effectiveness, the study emphasise the need for leaders to assess these tools and offer solutions. Lee *et al.* (2012) suggest that propensity to collaborate in an alliance is driven by personal motivational aspects to gain some material or immaterial benefits (e.g., expertise & know-how, competence is linked to trustworthiness), shared values and norms (sector-wise). On the other hand, more trust might be expected when a collaboration with a partner is important (by the role of dependence and interdependence in the inter-organisational networks); the raised expectation of trust acts as a challenge. Building on the issue of trust as a challenge, which is a widely discussed theme in collaboration (see Bachmann and Zaheer, 2009 for a detailed review), as well as the overall development of trust (rather than consideration of day-to-day interactions) many authors illustrate the benefits vs. challenge theme in collaboration studies. To facilitate collaboration, Child (2001) advocates 'trust based on calculation' while fully recognising the paradoxical nature of such advice. He suggests that interpersonal relationships, in a similar vein, can be built for clear and calculated mutual benefits, at the same time admitting that relationships by definition extend beyond such calculation, noting a contradiction. Such relationship and trust building evolves in phases, beginning with calculation, continuing to understanding and eventually reaching bonding, constantly considering benefits and challenges through the process. Varpio and Regehr (2013) also raise questions about whether trust actually erodes effective communication by moving it to the realm of obvious and common and suggest further research on the contradictory nature of effects of trusting relationship between individuals on collaboration. Besides the nature of work that introduces such paradoxical orientation towards trusts, the positions of the interacting individuals also play a significant role in this dynamic. This consideration of both systemic aspects and individual actions together is quite visible when illustrating benefits vs. challenge as a contradictory force at play in interorganisational/practice level.

In a similar vein, Shaw (2003) draws out that achieving successful collaboration between non-profit and public sector depends on balancing the benefits of resources and image against challenge of losing autonomy, recommending that the long-term negotiation and relationships cultivation should be consciously made a priority by collaborators rather than short term financial gains. Such internal tensions are not constricted to 'benefits versus challenges' and take multiple forms. For instance, Cornforth, Hayes and Vangen (2015) discuss the implications from the case study extensively to tease out internal tensions (over priorities, efficiency vs inclusiveness, perceived value) and conclude that their role in shaping and changing the governance role structure and processes should be considered. Similarly, Moriarty and Manthorpe (2014) reveal tensions among the partners, ranging from the difficulties in determining which approach was better at meeting the needs of carers, modes of service delivery, carer assessment and the lack of social marketing skills that influence the voluntary organizations working with the local councils, that evidence to some degree the collaborative inertia (Huxham and Vangen, 2005). In all these studies, the contradictions/tensions originate from systemic structure but are modified by *happenings* of collaboration. How they are handled significantly shaped what the collaboration *becomes*.

Most, if not all, studies discussed within this section, focus on the overall narrative of the progress or development of the collaborative effort. Their findings support the importance of the individual involvement; however, the research is not focused on the day-to-day actions of the individuals that are shaping these collaborative ventures. The unit of analysis is often the interorganisational tensions and focus is on understanding how such tensions are born out of certain institutionalised practises and their enactment over time. Practice of collaboration is at the forefront and this does help uncover significance of agency but does not uncover the contradictions at an interpersonal level. Given that individual actions play a significant role, there is still a need to know more about the day-to-day activities of actors or how contradictions are enacted at a personal/human level.

2.3.3 Contradictions at a (inter)personal/human level

The few studies that aim to understand the contradictions at a (inter)personal/human level can be congregated around two topics: identity creation and performance of routines. It is to be noted the ethnographic, descriptive, or narrative research techniques that could be used to uncover the day-to-day human behaviour in collaborative work are not a typical choice of method for researching collaborations. A refreshing exception to this is the study by Watson and Drew (2017) which examines the means by which interorganisational partnership is talked into being. Drawing on communicative constitution of organisations (CCO) to analyse meetings undertaken for a partnership between a Scottish University and local authorities, they highlight importance of 'less than rational'. In the example they set out, the collaboration "emerged despite, or maybe precisely in and through, the ambiguities, contradictions and the frequent laughter that pervaded the discussions" (Watson and Drew, 2017, p.16). Disordered, contradictory and seemingly insignificant happenings of the day-to-day are identified as an essential aspect of the collaborative work which are often trimmed out of the research findings; this author argues that these seemingly insignificant happenings shaped the collective identity and decision making. Similarly, using a case of educational partnership in Greece, Kourti, Garcia-Lorenzo and Yu (2018) discuss the identity work performed in a collaborative arrangement. The authors suggest that the collaborative as well as non-collaborative identities play a significant role in the enactment of collaborations. Depending on the context, some identities are foregrounded whereas others are put in the background. They explain the paradoxical nature of collaborative work through the needs for both collaborative and non-collaborative identities. They suggest that the positioning of self and others is continually performed in all stages of collaboration and that the collaboration itself is created through this process. In other words, the *personal* plays a

large part in shaping the collaboration. The human being performing the collaborative work (in whatsoever context) cannot and should not be separated from it when theorising.

While a self vs. other tension permeates studies looking at identity work, an order vs. disorder tension forms the core of the discussion in the studies focusing on routines. Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi (2019) focus on variation of this tension in the form of an integrative vs. disruptive change. They apply a broader dialectic perspective in their longitudinal study to illustrate that the dialectical tensions at the core of relationships continuously change, "any established arrangement is coupled with (changing) interest of the actors, and therefore, sow the seeds of their own decay – which gives rise to another period of change" (Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi, 2019, p.9). These authors contrast the initial reciprocity between the structural properties of the relationship and its (re)construction process (which they outline by reinforcing of the process by the structural property and, in turn, reifying of the structural properties by the process) against what they term to be a disruptive path. In this disruptive path, as opposed to an integrative path, friction and misalignment can act as a trigger that leads to the undermining of the processes by structural properties of the relationship; and, in turn, loosening of structural properties by the process. In this way through misalignment and friction, change is still brought about in the structural properties, which they outline by contrasting integrative against disruptive. On the other hand, in a different context Vásquez, Schoeneborn and Sergi (2016) claim that disorder and order are simultaneously produced through the communication. The efforts to produce order through communication simultaneously opens up the meaning and the resulting disorder haunts the people. Using three ethnographic examples of textual meaning making, they describe why and how this happens. They adopt an ontological perspective which suggests communication, which has inherent properties of indeterminacy of meaning, produces order and disorder. This implies that for collaborations, the collaborative entity can be brought about (following a Derridean perspective) through a constitution of order and disorder simultaneously. In a similar stride, using a catastrophe and disaster management organisation's enactment of routine in a highly dynamic setting, Danner-Schröder and Geiger (2016) suggest recognising patterns as ordered or disordered simply depends on the perception of participants, reflected in the *knowing* they have developed through practice over time. They support differentiating between stability and standardisation and flexibility and change. Enacting standardised patterns requires flexibility but flexible patterns do not necessarily denote change; whether it is perceived as change depends on the perspective of the observer. The research notes that in high-reliability context (like disaster management) protecting the workflow patterns is highly prioritised however it still can be recognised as actively stable rather than inert or rigid and hence, requiring mindful effort. Selecting and recombining meaning are defined as microlevel activities necessary in enactment of flexible routines. Know-ing (insistently used instead of knowledge as a broader concept) allows these activities but needs to be developed and redeveloped in practice, which allows order-disorder and stability-flexibility to take shape (Danner-Schröder and Geiger, 2016). As noted earlier, it is rare for studies to put the day-to-day interactions at the unit of analysis to then understand how collaborations are shaped out of it. However, the studies that have done this seem to have identified tensions in identity creation as well as reinforcing of the order-disorder duality within collaborative work.

2.4 Connecting the levels and theoretical approaches - structurationist perspective

While it is useful to separate the contradictions at various levels for analytical clarity, it is important to note that in practice these levels are inter-related and are enacted simultaneously. It is also important to not simply look at *parts* of the collaborative picture but also to consider its *whole* at the same time. In the above sections (2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.3.3), various sources for dialectic tensions have been identified by different authors. These tensions need not be necessarily limited to the criteria above (cooperation-competition, self-other, order-disorder, benefit-challenge, unity-diversity) but

can be much wider (de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004). For example, in Figure 6 below, multiple such potential sources of dialectic tensions have been proposed, and plenty others can be added to this model. Various authors model contradictory forces which are comparable to the conception in Figure 6 (see Danner-Schröder and Geiger, 2016, p.651; Sonenshein, 2016, p.752; Spee, Jarzabkowski and Smets, 2016, p.776). Locating these sources of contradictions does tell us something about collaborations, but that is not the complete story.

.

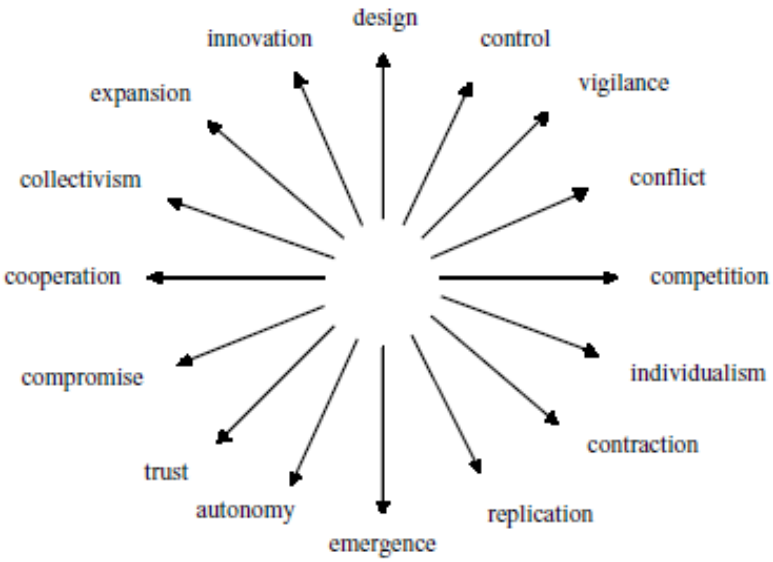


Figure 6: Potential Sources of Dialectic Tension in Alliance (de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004)

The levels at which these contradictions can operate continuously shifts and are more complexly interconnected. If we want to understand collaborative work as a *whole* and not only in its *parts*, the theoretical perspective needs to also make sense of these levels simultaneously. For instance, Beech and Huxham's (2003) consideration of tension as an alternative form of practice that enables opposite but equally correct action in the everyday context of collaboration highlights tension at various levels. Their research starts outlining the theory of tensions as a possible basis using which the contextual insights can be uncovered which subsequently may aid practice. Such consideration would inevitably combine different levels and their entanglement in practice. In a similar stride, Vangen (2017) outlines how the paradox lens can be fruitful to capture complexity and to generate practice-oriented theory. The propositions that she identifies suggest elaboration of paradoxes, which would consider their interaction *in praxi* at different levels. These approaches have focused on creating conceptual means that can inform practitioners.

On the other hand, some scholars focus on generating theoretical insights that simply prioritise a contextual description and an abstract comprehension of a complex phenomenon. For instance, many authors who have attempted to make sense of these level concurrently (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004) have advocated structurationist perspective. This is because, due to its unique positioning, structuration theory sees these levels as separate as well as connected and is also able to integrate multiple theoretical lenses under a broad umbrella to generate underlying explanations for behaviours *in praxi*. Giddens (1984, 2010) has offered structuration theory as an abstract characterisation of social relations. Using the notion 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984, 2010) he emphasises the nature of structure as both medium and outcome, without giving

primacy to either agency or structure. To understand the process of structuration neither a micro-level or macro-level analysis alone is sufficient and the researchers who employ it need to create explanations of how the *praxis* and *context* iteratively shape and re-shape each other, focusing on the process of structuration instead. For example, Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy's (2000) propose that institutionalisation and collaboration are interdependent. They appropriate the notion of duality as conceptualised by Giddens (1984) to view institutions as 'taken-for-granted' patterns of organising that shape or constrict behaviours. They suggest that "institutional fields provide the rules and resources upon which collaboration is constructed, while collaboration provides a context for the ongoing processes of structuration that sustain the institutional fields of the participants" (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000, p.23) implying that collaborations can be studied as the site of institutionalisation. In their research, they only offer propositions and do not attempt to validate them, however, empirical support for this argument has been offered through other scholars' works (Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; Sydow and Windeler, 2003). Using a case study of a network InBroNet, Sydow and Windeler (2003) identify the interconnectedness between three sources of dialectic tensions: trust, control, and knowledge. They suggest that the trust (contrasted against vigilance in the Figure 6), control (contrasted against autonomy in the Figure 6) and knowledge (related to innovation and design in above conceptualisation and contrasted against replication and emergence) are related more deeply than a linear or contrary connection. Such relationships are not only the medium and the result of their reflexive usage but are also characterised by the tensions, contradictions, as well as possibilities. Using a structurationist perspective they critique a simple complimentary or substitutional view of interconnectedness between trust, knowledge, and control, and show that *in praxi* such concepts can affect each other in numerous ways. If the relationship between the various elements in the above figure are conceptualised to be multi-dimensional and multi-layered, what we need to focus on is their constitution and reconstitution. Through this view, dialectic concepts become "medium and outcome of a multi-layered and multidimensional constitution process brought about by knowledgeable agents who interrelate knowledge, trust, and control in and through their day-to-day activities" (Sydow and Windeler, 2003 p.95). Collaboration becomes the site of shaping and re-shaping of the day-to-day life and vice-versa.

Within the same perspective, based on a four-year study of a NGO in Palestine, Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips (2002) examine what could be conducive to creation of proto-institutes or institutes-in-making. They apply DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) framework of structuration, to suggest that the embeddedness and involvement play a key role in making *in situ* but long lasting change possible. They argue that collaborations that are both highly embedded and have highly involved partners are the most likely to generate proto institutions. However, it is curious to note that while all of the above studies do recognise the value of understanding praxis, their unit of analysis and the focus of discussion has remained the entity of collaboration. Of the two choices for analysis that structuration theory offers (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010) – the analysis of strategic conduct and the institutional analysis - the studies discussed so far focus on institutional analysis all the while outlining a need towards deeper understanding of the situational and *in praxi.* Institutional analysis brackets interest in day-to-day activity to understand how institutions are structured across space and time, whereas analysis of strategic conduct looks at how actors draw on rules and resources in their activity. The studies discussed thus far, focus on structuring of collaboration as a site of institution. While they strongly recognise the need for analysis of strategic conduct of collaborative work to further support their theorisation, this is currently underdeveloped.

A noteworthy study that has begun addressing this is by de Rond (2003), who significantly extends the use of structuration theory in dialectic tradition by advocating a much deeper and more developed pluralist engagement, and performs this through analysis of strategic conduct. Furthermore, he also

uses ethnographic research, which has been underused in study of collaborations, to develop his arguments. He explores three strategic alliances in biotechnology and suggests that Berlin's objective value pluralism and Giddens's structuration theory may be combined into a perspective to emphasize the *particular* of alliances whilst also tackling the *general.* Such a perspective allows us to use theories that explain the social order as well as idiosyncrasy. A strong philosophical basis is created in his work which suggests that the pluralist theories can simultaneously allow social conduct to be understood as active/self-directed and inert/constrained, which means causation can be explained by various means (determinism, voluntarism or serendipity). de Rond (2003) encourages interpretive engagement with the day-to-day work in collaborative context; outlining a need to identify a contextual *particular* through research that can then extend our understanding of the *general* of collaboration. Viewed through such a lens, collaborative projects become an object of signifying, dominating, and legitimising; the *praxis* of collaboration takes the central stage, which pushes the researcher to familiarise her/himself with day-to-day actions of collaborative work. de Rond (2003) uses the concept of signification, domination, and legitimisation from structuration theory to identify the practice within his empirical setting. He argues that the personalities and the relationships of the people who were involved, necessarily and strongly shaped the organisational life of the ventures; the unwritten rules and gentlemen's agreement were as core to the functioning of collaborations as any contractual frameworks. He begins to connect the specifics of the alliances within biotechnology to the universal of collaborative work. To improve such an understanding further, he calls on scholars to continue building theoretical perspectives that can "explain the particular ***as well as*** the general; theories that allow one to find the particular ***in*** the general, the general ***in*** the particular, and the general as only ever experienced ***through*** the particular. Such theories must allow for social conduct, including learning processes, to be active and self-directed but simultaneously inert and constrained, permitting voluntarism, determinism and serendipity alike" (de Rond, 2003 emphasis in original). In examining the *particular* of collaborative work in an informal context and using structuration theory to systematically imagine its *general, t*his is a call for research that I answer in my thesis.

Before concluding this chapter, I wish to reiterate that arriving at this structured narrative of the review has not been a linear process. My acknowledgement of a structurationist conception of collaboration (as discussed in Figure 1) as the most appropriate for my research was the medium as well as result of a literature review process that was conducted simultaneously with fieldwork. This emergent understanding as well as some gaps I have noted within the above literature have shaped and contributed an answer to my research question.

2.5 Summary – a pressing need to understand the day-to-day

This review has presented the theoretical perspectives that are employed in understanding collaborations, further highlighting the strengths and drawbacks that they inevitably incur. Moreover, the review has identified the contradictions located at various levels of collaborative enactment and discussed the studies that attempt, through an integrative perspective, to bridges these levels. To sum up, I wish to highlight two key points visible from this review:

2.5.1 A need to make sense of multiple theoretical perspectives harmoniously

More than two decades ago, Osborn and Hagedoorn highlighted studies surrounding interorganisational networks as "a chaotic research field, replete with multiple theories, research designs, and units of analysis, [which is] ripe for an era of integrative theoretical development" (1997, p.262). They had hoped that their identification would form a point of departure from then-current research practice towards a more unified theory. There have been also calls by researchers, not towards a universal theory, but rather suggesting a timely shift/re-examination of multiple research perspectives looking at collaborations (Osborn and Hagedoorn, 1997b; Das and Teng, 2000; Lawrence,

Hardy and Phillips, 2002; Vangen, 2017). The variety, or what Hibbert, Huxham and Ring (2009) call a jungle of theories, is here to stay. As I have outlined in this review, multiple theoretical perspectives criticised for their shortcomings have (rightly) not been abandoned in the pursuit of a unified perspective, but rather have continued to flourish at different levels of success in grasping the complexity of the collaborative work. I concur with the position developed by de Rond (2003) that it would be perhaps most appropriate to adopt an emphasis on 'theories of variety' rather than a variety of theories. If my review of the theoretical approaches used to understand collaborative work has seemed a little critical it is simply because of the initial discomfort I had in trying to capture the empirical world that I was immersed in by using, what I have since realised, a rather atomistic orientation towards collaborations. However, without diminishing the contributions that multiple theoretical perspectives make individually, my intention is to convey they are best understood not as separate but as connected. By suggesting that we can make sense of them harmoniously, I mean that we can see the need for their synthesis and, at the same time, see the need to keep them distinguished from one another; it is useful to do both, simultaneously. I will contend that it is possible to balance this seeming contradiction using structuration theory which sees these opposite views as inter-related and constitutive of one another. Rather than combining various perspectives of a study like the construction of a puzzle (Schruijer, 2009), this can be seen as an exercise more akin to play with the reflection of the sunlight and the pieces of mirror at different angles, where when one puts two things together a new perspective comes into being, but the originals are as valid and 'true' as the combined effort is. Rather than adding more perspectives, we can attempt to see how the pieces are related as well as how they move in relation to one another. Structurationist perspective has already been used to perform such harmonious pluralist integration to a reasonable extent (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; Faulkner and de Rond, 2000; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000; Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004), but there is still room to develop this conceptualisation further. As I have identified in my review, the analysis of strategic conduct offers a possibility to do that, which has been thus far underutilised.

2.5.2 A need for further the situated day-to-day accounts of collaborative work.

While employing a pluralistic integrative orientation that intends to link multiple theoretical lenses harmoniously, the *practice* of collaborative work takes the central stage. Through the analysis of strategic conduct, this implies an increased research focus on the day-to-day aspects of collaborative work. And yet, as my review has shown, there is a further need for detailed attention to the day-to-day accounts of collaborative work. Of the various levels of contradictory enactments that I have reviewed above, understanding of the contradictions at the (inter)personal/human level has received the least attention. Even the accounts that have applied integrative orientation using structuration theory, while noting the importance of *practice,* have still placed the entity of collaboration at their core unit of analysis, thus giving priority to the institutional analysis over strategic conduct. Noting this gap, I suggest that it is possible to enrich our understanding further by the use of immersive, insider, ethnographic, descriptive, or narrative methods that delve into the day-to-day of collaborative work to observe, describe, and reconstruct agent actions *in praxi*. To locate contradictions at a personal/human level, detailed exploration of the day-to-day behaviour in collaborative context is likely to offer a useful perspective. Hence, I contend that the question 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' needs more research attention.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introducing methodological considerations

This research aims to explore how the day-to-day collaborative work unfolds; an aim that is accomplished through collecting and drawing on the ethnographic data from two cases within an informal context. In keeping with the characteristics of my core research subject: informal collaborative work, which as described earlier (see section 1.4) is uncertain and disordered, my chosen method has inevitably embraced a lot of uncertainty and disorder. As Barley elegantly sums up: "to grasp order in disorder requires a research strategy sensitive to the contextual dynamics by which structuring unfolds" (1986, pg. 81). In overcoming the methodological complexities, this statement represents a sensibility adopted in my research work. I present an overview of my methodological foundations and research approach below (see Table 2); it must be reinforced that the emergent understanding of my research foundations was the result of an integral whole of my research journey rather than its starting point.

Research aspects	
Philosophical approach	Processual, structurationist
Onto-epistemic stance	Relational ontology, realist epistemology
Research strategy	Ethnography - qualitative
Research site	Two informal collaborative projects: Share Fair and Rock4Refugees
Time horizon	Short- longitudinal, 21 months of focused fieldwork
Procedure	Insider participant, conversational relational access
Data collection	Reflections, interviews, photos, videos, social media posts, records of communications, pamphlets, event documents and artefacts
Data analysis	Thematic, analysis of strategic conduct, analytical generalisation
Primary analysis technique	Coding and sets configurations using NVivo

Table 2: Overview of research aspects

Three facets anchor my core methodological considerations: 1) processual 2) structurationist and 3) ethnographic perspective. Of these the first, processual perspective, is best understood as a sensibility rather than a doctrine. I have employed processual perspective as it aids in acknowledging the complexity of collaborative work; this is because the process view rests on a relational ontology– with an emphasis on flux, change, open-endedness, close attention to agency and a clear focus on organis-*ing* rather than organisation (P-PROS, 2018). Cunliffe outlines the common thread within processual studies as "viewing reality as a network of elements and a process of becoming" (2011, pg. 660); resonating with that, the focus of my study has been less on structural-functional characteristics and more on how phenomena emerge. At their core, the research related choices that I made were driven by 1) primacy attributed to immersion in the phenomenon and by 2) attempts towards their consistent comprehension through a relational ontological and realist epistemological outlook. Of these the first was relevant because I was interested in understanding how the people performing unstructured collaborative work actually do so in the day-to-day setting. The second one was shaped through my analysis, my reflections about self and the world and their connection, through the search of an elusive starting point of the order that I noticed persistent within the superficially disordered phenomenon. In trying to figure out whether and how the collaborators produced or reshaped the order or were

reshaped through it themselves, I had to come away from either choice and attribute the primacy to the process of (re)shaping.

In doing so, the methodological position I adopt is one very close to Giddens who, I believe, provides an ingenious and conducive means of overcoming various dualisms that have plagued social research. He accomplishes this by conceptualising the structure not simply as constraining but also enabling human agency - by viewing agency-structure as a duality constituted through process of structuration (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010). This is where the second facet comes in play. Seen through a structurationist perspective, the analytical concepts of structure and agency presuppose one another, and, therefore, "the sociological observer cannot make social life available as a 'phenomenon' for observation independently of drawing upon her or his knowledge of it as a resource whereby it is constituted as a 'topic for investigation'" (Giddens, 2010, p. 169). Hence, I present this research as a 'stories from within' rather than as 'descriptions of truth'. Stories can be a powerful means, nevertheless (Weick and Browning, 1986), which need translating to make sense to their listener, and that is another aspect that structuration theory has aided me with. Parts of this work are purposefully and insistently informal, draw on mutual knowledge (Giddens, 1993, 2010) and aim to make sense to a lay reader. For other parts, structuration theory has been explicitly used as a meta-theory to make the story legible and relevant to a management researcher as well as the wider academic audience. The concepts of structures of signification, legitimisation and domination (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010) have helped me draw analytical insights (further details in section 3.5.2.2) and to make a theoretical contribution to an understanding of 'in the moment' collaborative work.

Why structuration theory? Could something else work?

As conceptualised by Giddens, I see structure to be related to action in a manner that language is related to speech; "It ceases to be conceived as girders of a building or skeleton of the body but is thought as 'rules and resources' implied in interaction. Structure remains fluid and changing and yet it is able to outline the basis of things. Structure is what gives form and shape to social life, but it is not itself that form and shape - nor should 'give' be understood in an active sense here, because structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents" (1989, p.256). Giddens suggests that structures exist both internally within agents as memory traces and externally as the manifestation of social actions; social life comes about when structure and action both interact with, and inform, one another. Two are distinct but related; the relationship is conceptualised as a duality. Consequently, the production and reproduction of social systems is a function of human interaction, but informed by the underlying social structures, which recursively constitute agency. Thus, even the smallest social action contributes to the alteration or reproduction of larger social systems but is constrained as well as enabled by the existing social systems, and, has to be carried out by a reflexive agent with a practical consciousness of the process. Life is brought *to life* by diverse individuals, who rely on social structures, norms, conventions, institutions, rules, and resources, while they intentionally and unintentionally reproduce these very facets.

To manage this delicate balance of emphasis, structuration theory incorporates ideas from "Heidegger's existentialism, Gadamer's hermeneutics, Schutz's phenomenology, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, Foucault's and Derrida's poststructuralism, and Erikson's and Freud's studies of child development (Baert, 1998 p.94)". And yet, it specifically distances itself from a number of implications – agents are active and not just bearers of structure (as opposed to Althusser); focus is on structure rather than *only* on production (unlike interpretive sociology/philosophy of action); language is a medium rather than constitutive (as opposed to structural linguistics or generative grammar theories); world is not made up *only* of change/process (contrasting against a strong processual view/post-structuralism); agency is only attributed to cognitive beings (unlike ANT

theorists) and there are no moral absolutes (as opposed to most critical theorists). Because of this integration from multiple fields and the unique positioning, it is no wonder that structuration theory has been termed an eclectic exercise by critics (Gregson, 1989; Held and Thompson, 1989; Archer, 1996). However, I employed structuration theory because 1) this very specific positioning resonated with me at a deep personal level and my ontic assumptions about what the world is formed of. Furthermore, 2) due to this specific positioning, it also has a peculiar use that is very well suited for my research purpose – uncovering the processual complexity and the sustained deep contradictions that propel social life ahead in a collaborative setting. Moreover, 3) as an abstract characterisation of the social relations, structuration theory establishes the internal logical coherence of the concepts within a theoretical network quite well (as further outlined in section 3.4.3); this allows it to be used as a sensitising device for theorisation, which is what I have done.

Consistent with Giddens' perspective, I have interpreted three central structures which emerge from and constitute the properties of action itself – legitimisation, domination, and signification. These have been used as a grounding for analysis. In the later stages of my analysis, the data were grouped in dimensions of ethicality, dimensions of consensus building and dimensions of meaning making, and these have been interpreted as the above three structures, respectively. In such way, I performed an analysis that Giddens recommends - analysis of strategic conduct; "to examine constitution of social systems as strategic conduct is to study the mode in which actors draw upon structural elements – rules and resources – their social relations. Structure here appears as actors' mobilisation of discursive and practical consciousness in social encounters (Giddens, 2010, p.80)". By doing so, I have placed the institutional analysis in a methodological *epoché* (Giddens, 1984, p.30) *i.e.* this research will focus on analysis of strategic conduct and will not attempt institutional analysis. While social world is of such immense complexity that causal relationships are a near impossibility, it is nevertheless possible to generate their valuable descriptions, which is what my research aims to achieve using structuration theory. The kind of data that I gathered through my immersion and the theory that I could use to understand it fit together well over time; and for this structuration was an apt choice. So, a short answer to the two questions above, while reversing their order, is yes, but structuration theory has been used *because* it works so well.

The third facet, ethnography, preceded the other two chronologically. The decision to use structurationist concepts or the realisation that my study was processual in nature only occurred when the research work was further than halfway through. Before I even found a theoretical language to express the understanding created by my immersion in the fieldwork, what carried my research through and has continued to do so until the last written word is its grounding as an ethnography. As Van Maanen (2010) notes, ethnography can be and is frequently utilised as both the methodological approach and analytical perspective. This was necessary because, as the research topic was being shaped, I realised that a close and personal account of what I was looking at was missing; and what was needed was "telling a convincing story using the language of community members and by weaving observations and insights about culture and practices into the text" (Cunliffe, 2010 pg. 228). Hence, the ethnography was chosen as an approach to explore and construct this story. Such story, while being credible, relevant and rigorous (as would be expected of any research worth its salt), primarily needed to give voice to people in their local context and present thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973; Cunliffe, 2010; Fetterman, 2010; Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Lê, 2014). However, ethnography as a way of doing research is far from standard and well-defined, particularly due to its complex history and roots from anthropology and sociology (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007). What can be considered ironclad, nevertheless, is its informative documentary status and the requirement to 'live with and live like' those that you wish to know about (Van Maanen, 2010). These principles guided my immersion in what I found to be a curious culture of organising.

These three facets intermingled at all the stages of my research. As the fieldwork developed considerably, the core concepts of structuration were employed as a sensitizing device to comprehend the empirical. Simultaneously, as these conceptual constructs acted as a vehicle for the sensemaking and contextualising of the observed phenomenon, the empirical evidence acted as a medium for grounding my conceptual understandings, all shaping each other iteratively. Understanding the process of this shaping itself was also crucial and as a researcher I needed to be sensitive to it. This seemingly trivial declaration comes with serious implications for the research design, reflexivity and the *doing* of my research.

To provide a detailed justification of my peculiar methodological stance (processual structurationist ethnography) and the methods I have consequently employed, it is necessary to explain the *doing* of my research before outlining the philosophical outlook. Hence, this chapter adopts an unusual structure. I ask the reader to patiently accompany me on this journey with the promise that these ideas do come together in a consistent thought by the end. The first section starts where my research started: I describe how the ideas for this research were put forth and moulded. The following section outlines the access efforts which sets up the stage for detailing data collection. I reflect on the multiple practical dilemmas faced and discusses their implications on and legitimisation through my approach. The next section, data analysis, delineates the means used to perform analytical tasks as well as development of the strategy of data analysis. In the last section, I interlace together ideas from all these sections to explicate and justify the methodological foundations and discuss their appropriateness to my research purposes.

Beginning at the beginning – ideas for research

Rather unsurprisingly, the final product of this research bears little resemblance to my original project proposal. In 2014, the Open University Business School had advertised a funded doctoral project titled 'creating collaborative advantage for public and social value': a qualitative research focused on theorising management and leadership practices in collaborations, primarily public or third sector. Based on my business studies background, work within the hospitality SME's and volunteering experience, the original proposal I had drafted aimed at exploring community work of ethnic SMEs. Adopting a CSR lens, I had proposed uncovering communal collaborative engagement of ethnic hospitality SME's, typically visible in religious or local community events that are organised in such circles. Keeping in line with the proposed inductive design of the research, as fieldwork began, I was attending a wide variety of community events, both to secure contacts and widen/narrow the scope of the research in a suitable manner. This was accompanied by an initial reading of the literature on collaborative work (such as Ring and Van De, 1994; Huxham, 1996; Crosby and Bryson, 2005; Huxham and Vangen, 2005) to increase sensitivity towards case (de)selection.

During this fieldwork, I found myself immensely fascinated by a peculiar type of collaborative project. Unlike the events organised by hospitality SME's or ethnic communities, events organised through these means were not necessarily grounded in any religious, ethnic, local, or familial bonds but seemed to be organically coming together between near strangers from diverse backgrounds and locations. There was something very contrary and fascinating about the informal, unstructured process of these collaborative events that made them possible. The organising principles I had learnt in business studies were routinely thwarted and turned on their heads and yet, the events happened, the projects carried on and became stronger. Further, as I read more, there seemed little written about them that discussed how the day-to-day aspects of such collaborative work were made possible. After discussions with research supervisors, further immersion in such events, and considering the richness of data possible from this immersion the research focus was gradually changed from hospitality context and from the SME's to informal unstructured collaborative projects. I started the

more definitive access work with the notion of 'exploring informal collaborations' that are set up to benefit communities. Out of multiple collaborative projects observed and recorded, two cases were selected to be analysed in depth; this was because the collaborative work observed within these cases was unique when seen in light of collaboration literature and, yet, data-rich and representative of the phenomenon I had been observing.

A number of theoretical ideas – social responsibility, sharing economy, moral identity, social contract, relational and social capital – were floated to find a basis on which to make sense of the empirical phenomenon. In the different stages of my writing (MRes thesis, PhD probation, data analysis) these conceptual grounds were explored and decided against. While the theoretical perspective significantly changed throughout, my curiosity towards *the becoming* of these projects remained at the heart of research and has guided this whole enterprise.

3.2 Ethnographic fieldwork

Before outlining the practice of my fieldwork – the *how* of my fieldwork – a quick word on why this account appears here, and why it appears at all. A detailed reflective exploration of the access and fieldwork is deemed useful, particularly so in the ethnographic research that requires in-depth conversations and a medium to long-term immersion (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Li, 2008; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Spracklen, Timmins and Long, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014; McCurdy and Uldam, 2014). Yet, it is markedly rare to find comprehensive and explicit accounts of access acquisition and maintenance, specifically within the organization and management studies (Bruni, 2006; Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013; Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). The issue of acquiring access is underrepresented or, at times, explicitly avoided (Bruni, 2006). The process of acquiring access tends to be presented as linear, instrumental, and neutral, its account typically is buried within appendices, prefaces, acknowledgments, or short comments, which presupposes it to be a practical and unreflexive stage of the research (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). Similarly, the description of data collection typically focuses on *what* was done and side-lines *how* it was done. As Buchanan and Bryman (2007: 497) suggest, within characterization of methods, the researcher needs to address "systematically and coherently, the organisational, historical, political, ethical, evidential, and personal influences"; explicit discussion and analysis of practice of fieldwork can provide such a vivid context, which is unavoidably related to the methodological choices of researchers (Michailova, 2011; Poulis, Poulis and Plakoyiannaki, 2013). Sterilised presentation of access acquisition or fieldwork (or complete lack thereof) has multiple drawbacks but most importantly it can create the methodological weakness of separating its influence from the process of methodological decision making.

With the above considerations, this section aims to explicitly highlight and link the *praxis* of my fieldwork to my research choices. Due to limitations on space, I elaborate on just one of the projects below. However, a brief account of researcher involvement for each project is also presented in the findings (sections 4.1 and 4.2) and the implications drawn from below sections (3.2 to 3.4) are applicable to both projects.

3.2.1 Account of access acquisition for Share Fair

During the first part of the initial year of my research, using websites such as Eventbrite I had ventured forth to various charity and community events. Attending such events involved summoning nerve to speak to complete strangers, not unlike cold calling, and looking for bits and pieces of conversation that may inform me of something relevant. Whom and what to engage with was never really clear; a combination of continuous discussions with the research supervisors, emergent understanding from the participation, a continuous review of literature, a tentative notion of 'informal collaboration', and

the extent of the rich data coming from the participation facilitated my decision making. In the end, the chains of events that directed me to the projects were fairly convoluted.

In the latter part of my first year, one of my supervisors took an initiative and introduced me to a prominent organiser/social activist within the local area, who was also an informant in some research projects at the university. He introduced me as a potential volunteer for an organization where he had recently joined as a trustee. I accessed this organization as a volunteer, which functions as a representative leader for the third sector in the local area. This was achieved through an introductory email from the aforementioned trustee and a semi-formal interview with the organisational manager who was looking to create a pool of volunteers. Additionally, this organization had been working with the university and, as I understood it, for them, my selection implied further access to the university in some means.

The volunteer work consisted of tasks such as web searches for funding, minor administrative responsibilities, helping at seminars/events organized, etc. I was added to the intranet (emails, internal reports) and was given nearly complete access to the on-going and past projects. Semi-purposive snowballing (Bell, Bryman and Harley, 2019) guided my access attempts through this period. While my contact time with the organization was limited (few hours, 1-2 days in a week), I was able to establish amicable social interactions with a few select people and their associated projects. Through these, I came across a social enterprise owner who had worked on food related social projects, including a micro-funding SOUP event within the local area. This was particularly relevant as I had already been observing and following another SOUP event in a different location in my research work. She introduced me as an interested volunteer to the main organiser. My connection with her as well as the core organiser was improved through numerous participations in SOUP, either as a volunteer or an attendee. Further, I met these people repeatedly in other events in the local area and began accessing them as informants within the local social action scene. In one of these events, she was distributing the pamphlets for a Share Fair and handed one to me, saying *"when I was reading this, I immediately thought about your research…think this might be something useful for you?"*

The pamphlet informed me of a basic outline, but it was rather vague. I discovered a few websites where Share Fair was advertised, including two separate Facebook pages created under the same name. To know more, I posted some questions on one of the Facebook pages but did not receive a reply in time. As a result, the information obtained before the event was hardly enough to establish any clear links to my research work. Regardless, I decided to participate to see what comes out of it.

3.2.2 First encounter - access account one

I start my trip to Share Fair with little information about the event/organisers but with hopes to get a sense of 'what it is all about' and 'who is who'. Also, if it seems relevant, I want to participate as more than an attendee. My plan is to arrive an hour earlier to watch, perhaps help in the setup. The train is delayed, and I start worrying that getting there earlier won't happen. As I arrive in the field (quite literally - the event was outdoors), I see that due to the adverse weather the process has been delayed. At first sight, none of the people on the scene seem to be in charge. There are no badges, no uniforms, and no security vests. A few people are getting things done, however. In about the first five minutes I identify an organiser (she's wearing a jacket with the company's name on the back and an ID hidden underneath the jacket). After exchanging niceties, I introduce myself as an interested researcher/local student. "I'm doing research that looks at 'good for community' events and organizations working together. This event just seems like a brilliant idea…is there anything I can help with?" I get a hearty welcoming smile to my offer and a reply that everything is nearly ready, so I should just have a look around for now and will be asked if something comes up.

After having a brief look around the event setup, I try to find familiar faces and I am quite relieved to find an attendee from a local community organization. He introduces me to another person who is doing origami. I feel more at place. Even after half an hour into the event, I am still unclear who is there in an 'official capacity' or what exactly is happening. My prolonged conversation with familiar people makes me worry that I might be missing out on something more important. I start distancing myself from known faces and wander carefully and patiently around the food areas, or places where pamphlets are set up. This helps me politely join in into the conversations of the groups that are simply passing by. A pleasant smile at strangers or an agreeable comment gets me into a few of these conversations. I start making some sense of who is attending the event and why they might be here, but of course, the discussions, as I enter them, are completely random and span over a number of things. Depending on the context, I change my introduction. Sometimes I am a student, sometimes a volunteer in a local organization, other times a researcher and most times a part Londoner….

An hour later I go back to the organiser. I have a marginally better sense of what the event is about now. She asks me how I am enjoying myself. "Excellent", I tell her how the ideas such as the swapping stations and skills sharing are quite brilliant. After exchanging some more pleasantries, I get back to the pressing proposition in my head "Is there anything I can assist with at all, please feel absolutely free to ask", I extend a warm smile. This time I get a more concrete reply. The organizing company wants to have some feedback for evaluation, and they are video interviewing some of the event attendants. Would I be happy to do that? "Yeah, of course." The organiser takes me to the videographer and tells him that I am happy to take part. He is still setting up the equipment and suggests that we start in about an hour…

The interview starts quite informally and yet, looking at a video camera focused on me, I'm somewhat uncomfortable. I'm not a local; I have never attended this event before, am I really the right person to do this? The interviewer puts me at ease with reassurances "it's actually better to have a response from a non-local", "it's your experience that really matters". In my head, I'm amused at the irony of my role in that setting as a researcher. He asks me to reflect on my experience of Share Fair. In some ways, I also feel better equipped, after all, who can be better placed to answer this than someone who has been buried in literature about and attending community and social events for over a year. Using some jargon like 'social capital', 'community cohesion', and other carefully chosen simpler words I produce a reply. The interviewer and videographer are visibly impressed. "Ah! That's precisely something we were looking for!!" However, they realize that the mic failed to record. We repeat the process 3-4 times until they get a satisfactory reply. Once the camera is switched off, the interviewer starts an informal conversation with me. He wants to know more about my research and has a story to tell. He runs a local community hub and is fascinated by the research topic, many of their initiatives might fit within it so nicely, he says. We end up speaking for over an hour and unexpectedly I have an unstructured interview. Further, he wants me to come to visit his local community hub and get to know the initiatives. He hands me his phone to give mine a ring, we exchange contacts…

Towards the end, I manage to casually slide into another conversation with one of the main organisers. I learn that she is speaking with a local person who took the lead in setting up the Share Fair. The conversation dances around political ideas, philosophical even. I make mental notes of some quotes that seem relevant, trying to add little without appearing detached from the conversation. After a while, the local organiser mentions that she has been toying with the idea of an 'everything library'. Coincidentally, I have met a person who has run such an initiative before. I introduce them and, in the process, secure contact details from both. At the end, I idle the thought of staying back and helping organisers pack up the tents, etc. but the exhaustion of having been on the foot the whole day is catching up. Further, I'm still not quite sure if this event might end up being an important one for my research (although I'm likely to record the observations and some reflections). Thinking about the

balance of time and the effort to be spent helping vs. potential insight that may be gained, I'm unsure if I will get anything more; I say my goodbyes and leave.

[from reflections recorded on 16 August 2016]

3.2.3 What comes next

Each of the event setting attended (even for the same project) was unique, yet the description above is quite representative of the interactions within. Such a description is particularly useful in light of Bruni's remark, "there are no substantial reasons for assuming that negotiation of access to the field takes place in a dimension different from the actors' everyday logics and practices of action; nor that what the ethnographer is doing while accessing the field is different from what s/he will do while fieldworking" (2006, p.137). As such, my everyday logics, and practices of actions (for access as well as data collection) included managing massive uncertainty surrounding interactions as well as consciously extroverted attempts to engage. It is important to note that serendipity and random dumb luck, which insists on evading analysis, played equally substantial part in generating some of these extremely insightful interactions as well as relationships that were nurtured afterwards.

On my end, typical post-event access efforts would involve sending prompt messages/emails to people I had met, thanking for the conversations, showing additional interest, and arranging further in-person contact where relevant. Typically, a reply to these would lead to meeting for a coffee and insight into the work that they are undertaking or visiting their local community hubs/sites/workplaces. More than once, I was asked to provide feedback on the events or to volunteer for other things. In such cases, after discussions with my supervisors and a careful consideration of the situation, edited versions of my reflections were disseminated. When asked to participate/help out at subsequent events I almost always said yes. Extensive immersion and relational access (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016) were methodologically important for my inductive research, leading to a conscious and constant effort at developing deeper access. These relationships were carefully and consciously nurtured and required heavy effort (albeit, from both sides) in balancing the various assumed roles. Over time however, this meant a different, richer access to the phenomenon. A short account of involvement within the same project at a later date should highlight this changed nature.

3.2.4 Nearly an insider – access account two

The text reads 'hey, will you be arriving at 4 pm? I am near the village and can pick you up. Safe travels (smiley)'. Four hours into the travel, I think that I should readily accept the offer. The prospect of taxi and numerous claims afterwards is rather annoying. C____ picks me up from the station and our enthusiastic discussion for tomorrow's plans ensues. While participating in it heartily I am trying to make mental notes, so that I don't forget to record it later. When we reach the foundation building of the company, I get asked to carry some stuff to her desk while she picks up the keys for the van. I input the security lock combination and enter the building confidently while having no ID and, well, technically no official reason to be there behaving as a staff. However, now many people here know me by face and the event team by name, some I would even call close friends. Leaving the stuff at the desk I go to security office to get the setup material loaded. Van loaded and ready, C___ hands me her phone to call the security guys at the venue as she drives us to the town centre to unload in preparation for tomorrow morning…

Next morning, as always, we start set up at 07.20 am. We have been through this routine a few times now, but of course, for every event, we have some new groups/organizations (three today) that want to participate. P___ tells me that the few people from the last times may not be coming today. I make a quick note to myself to chat with the lady who is offering the reiki for the third consecutive time; I

have barely spoken with her yet. By now the exact times at which the usual faces will show up to help are clear to me. The interaction with the passers-by still has to be shaped from the scratch. Having an inviting smile throughout and catching the attention of anyone looking over has to be done quite tactfully. A few people who we have got to know through 'so, what's this all about?', 'are you guys with Eden?' (to which, by now I just reply yes) have become regulars who will show up every time; yet it is never worth missing a potential Share Fair-er. I wonder whether I'm keen on these interactions for the Share Fair itself or for my research work, I'm not sure anymore. People from new organization that are setting up ask me what they should do next, I discuss the details of what they plan to contribute and make some suggestions about what each of them could work on and allocate the tasks. C___ is good at keeping an eye on this stuff, and, if she finds them arranging something the way she wouldn't agree with, she will tell them herself, but by now I have a fairly good idea of how everything works.

…Getting away from busy Share Fair-ing for half an hour, P___ and I find some time to have lunch. We had been meaning to do this for quite some time and haven't had the chance. The conversation jumps between our shared interests, personal life, and work; after discussing some new manga and Sci-Fi comics passionately, we then start to discuss Share Fair. He tells me that the eleven similar projects are being piloted and he has been involved in the evaluation of quite a few, but he finds evaluating Share Fair the trickiest. I confess my own messy understanding and the confusing early findings that seem to lead nowhere, joking about the life of researcher that we both relate to. I tell him that I do want to have a detailed discussion at some point and that probably next month I will come and stay in the area for a week. "Yeah, of course. You should absolutely come over then" he goes on "we can do the interview during the day and then have an evening out with wife? or a gaming night at my place may be?" ...

Two hours after the lunch I am still teaching the kids Pom-Pom making. We have more kids at the event then usual and C___ advertised me to the crowd as 'our own fabulous Pom-Pom maker'. Just before we are about to start winding up, I manage to find a chance to converse with the new charity that has set up a stress-ball making area to get the conversations going. One of the ambassadors of the charity is T___'s father-in-law. He introduces me to him. I get offered a small piece of paper that quizzes about social conditions in Cornwall and I embarrassingly fail to answer most of the question correctly. However, this leads to a brilliantly engaging conversation. He tells me fascinating stories about being involved in the charity work for over thirty years, his opinion about events like Share Fair, how he managed to get connected to it. I pick up his card for staying in touch…

[from reflections recorded on 9 December 2017]

After attending more than a few of events/organiser meetings, the nature of access had been visibly altered. With due considerations to the complexities surrounding the idea of becoming an insider (Li, 2008; Oliver and Eales, 2008; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014) and the fluidity of such positioning (McCurdy and Uldam, 2014), becoming an insider in these settings was achieved rather quickly. Goffman (1989) says that this is accomplished when "you are in position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what is going on around them and you're emphatic enough – because you've been taking the same crap they have been taking – to sense what it is that they are responding to" (p. 125). My ease of access in becoming an insider can perhaps be attributed to the open nature of the informal collaborative projects. Most organisers were new in one way or another and yet had been 'taking the same crap' in organising community projects like these. Research informants easily considered me to be an integral part of organizing team and the overall project; further, my involvement extended beyond the settings of the event and included social aspects: going for drinks, having dinners, staying at each other's places, and enduring friendships. As the second access account reflects, the representational lines around the roles were quickly and sharply blurred.

Figure 7, which shows a (somewhat cleanly separated) slice of data collection points between May 2016-July 2017 is useful in categorizing this work as a focused ethnography, however, as my access account shows, the process of access acquisition has been continuous, iterative, and ongoing. Also, while I present account of one project above, Figure 7 should also highlight the multitudes of the involvements in different projects at the same time to exhibit the additional complexity of my access work. In this figure, I have mapped the key instances of data collection that involve my participation in the organising process the day before, activities on the day as well as conversations/socialising taking place after. Shades of one colour marked on the timeline denote different events attended that relate to the same collaborative project (green- SOUP initiative, yellow- Share Fair, red – Rock4Refugees). The blue marks on the timeline denote other significant events that facilitated deeper access.

The data collection for the research project was completed by January 2018. Since then, I have been managing my exit by slowly distancing myself and decreasing involvement; a task which is as equally intricate as becoming an insider (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Michailova *et al.*, 2014; Smith and Atkinson, 2017). This has involved heavily renegotiating the roles, reduced nature of involvement, handling modified relationships with informants, and managing the expectations as well as disappointments. It is important to note that while the 'official' data collection has finished, at the time of writing, I am still involved in the projects in capacities that require reduced efforts and shall continue to do so for 1) a sense of personal responsibility and the emotional involvement that I have with the projects and 2) potential opportunity that such work presents for longitudinal research. The access work simply does not end.

3.3 Data collection

Through the access accounts in the above section, it is hoped that the reader should now have a clearer understanding of situational logics that influenced my process of data collection. All that is termed data in this research was accumulated by 'being there' in a manner that I have described in the above accounts. It is important to stress that this is a very context specific research where the ideas of 'relational access', 'immersion' and 'familiarisation' within the phenomenon (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016), as well as identifying opportunities for 'naturally occurring data', have taken precedence over a rigid structure or a formal method of data collection. Having described the *how* of my data collection above, I shall now detail the *what*. The data corpus for research is the result of immersion within different collaborative projects well over 21 months, two of which have been considered vital for extracting conceptual insights – Share Fair and Rock4Refugees. Prior discussions of ethnographic data collection (Bruni, 2006; Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Li, 2008; Oliver and Eales, 2008; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014; Verhallen, 2016) have proven useful guides to direct the manner of my data collection. The following sections will outline data collection within each of the events as well as through interviews.

3.3.1 Participation in Share Fair

The primary method of data collection for Share Fair was participation in the events; getting down to the event location, staying overnight, helping on the day before and the next morning towards the set up as well as packing afterwards and mainly performing as a Share Fair-er for the duration of the event. For the first few events, the reflections were in form of handwritten notes (See Image 1 for example of notetaking and sketches).

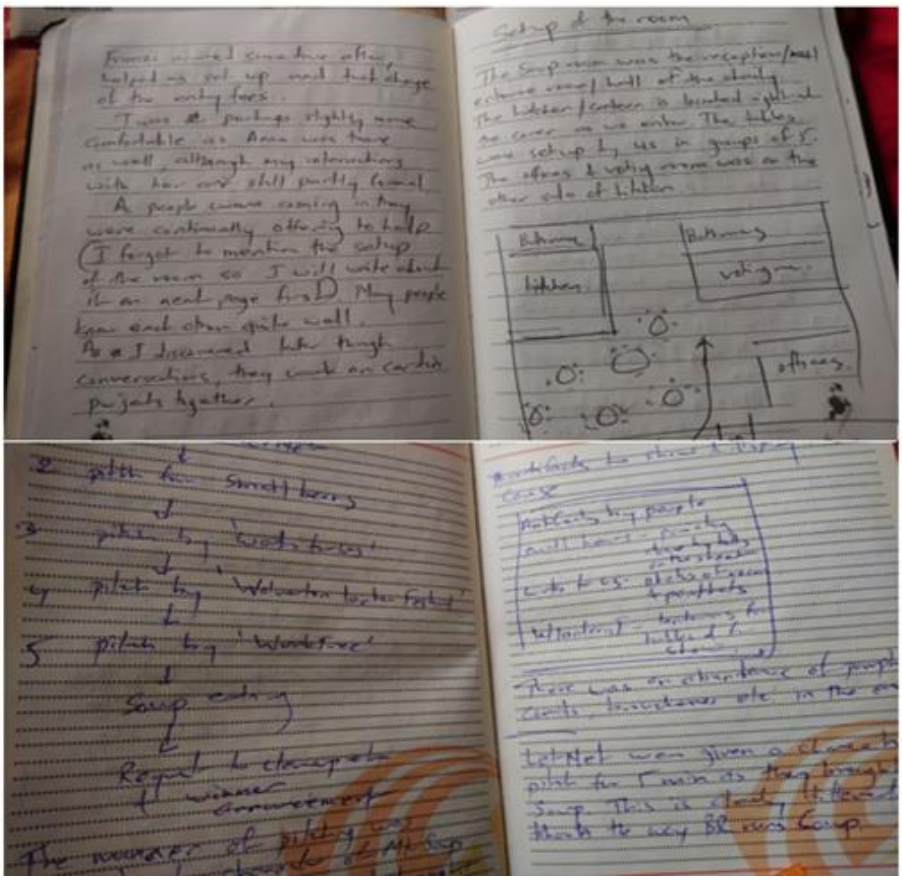


Image 1: Handwritten notes/sketches for data collection

However, I realised that a more efficient way of notetaking was to record myself on the phone (small 10-15 second audio notes) during the event, and after the event is finished, to do a long self-recording that pieces these notes together. In the given event settings, a person speaking on their phone was also less disruptive than an odd man out toiling away at pen and paper. By the second Share Fair, my full reflections were recorded as audio files pre- and post-event. These were also completed after significant meetings with organisers. Other data has been collected in the form of photos, videos, event related documents, unstructured and semi-structured interviews with informants, systematic record of communications, social media posts, etc. Table 3 below outlines the kinds of data collected from each of the Share Fair events.

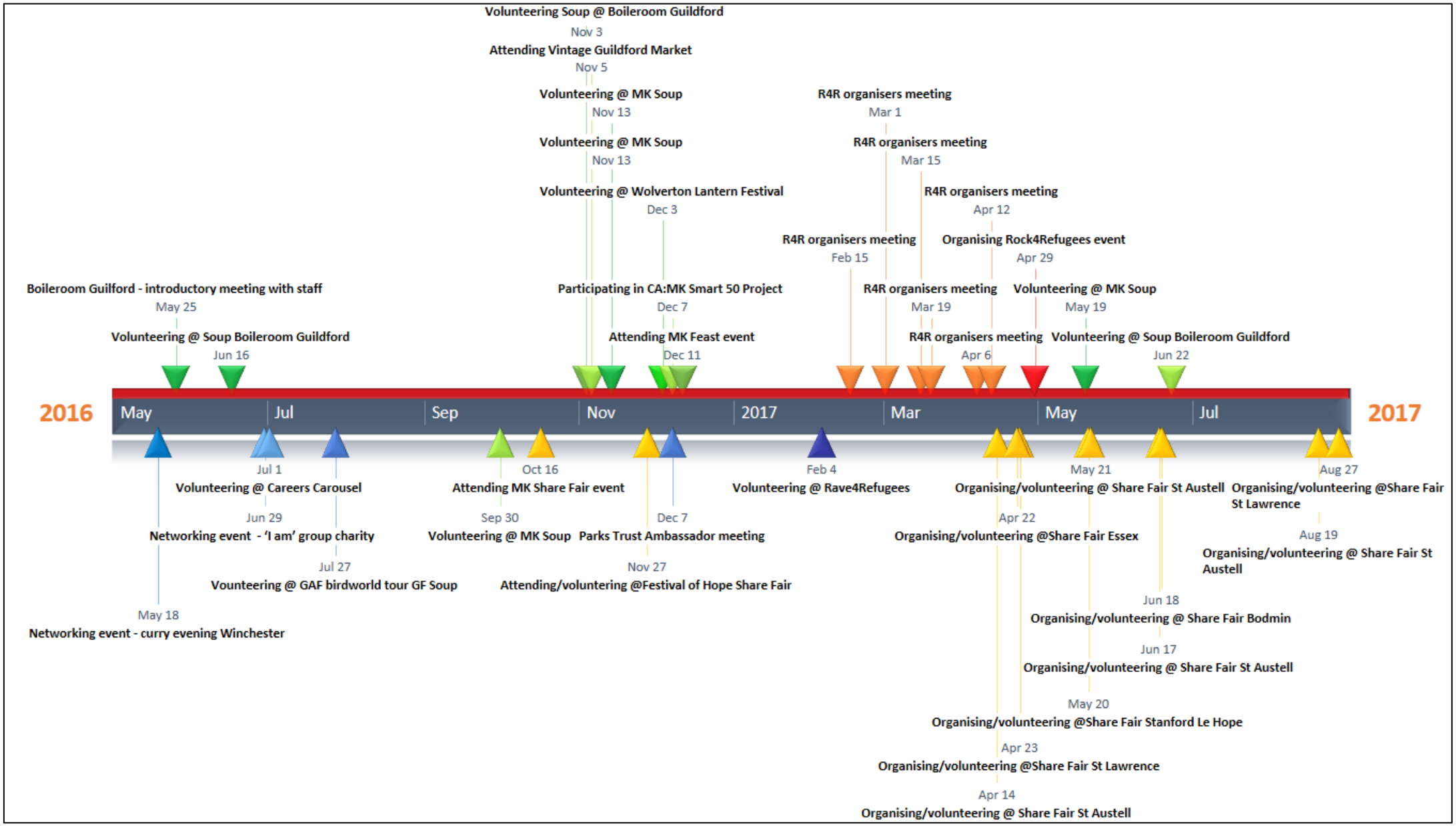


Figure 7: Timeline of data collection between May 2016 - July 2017

Share Fair events data collection

Location	Date	EXP	REF	PH1	PH2	VDO	DOC	COM	FBS	TWT
Milton Keynes	16/08/2016[+]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
FOH Eden	27/11/2016	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	--	✓	--	✓
Community camp	17/03/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	✓
St Austell	15/04/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	--	--	✓	✓
Stanford Le Hope	22/04/2017[+]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	✓	✓
St Lawrence	23/04/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓[*]	✓
St Austell	20/05/2017	✓	✓	✓	--	--	--	✓	✓	✓
Stanford Le Hope	21/05/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	--	--	✓	✓
St Austell	17/06/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	✓	--
St Lawrence	18/06/2017[+]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	✓[*]	--
Bodmin	18/06/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--
St Austell	15/07/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	✓	✓	--
St Austell	19/08/2017	--	--	--	--	✓	--	--	✓	✓
St Lawrence	27/08/2017	--	--	--	✓	✓	--	--	✓	✓
Stanford Le Hope	10/09/2017	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	✓[*]	--
St Lawrence	15/10/2017	--	--	--	--	--	--	✓	✓	✓
St Austell	09/12/2017	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	--	✓	✓

Key
EXP: participation experience
REF: transcribed audio recorded reflection
PH1: photos taken by researcher
PH2: photos posted on social media + others
VDO: videos (by researcher or organisers/informants)
DOC: event document scans / webpages /company documents
COM: emails / text messages / other communication pre/post event
FBS: Facebook event posts + 'about us' pages and discussion posts
TWT: Twitter posts
[*] indicates empty event pages without discussion posts
[+] See Table 4

Table 3: Share Fair events data collection

To give an idea of the quantity of data that each participation in Share Fair generated, I present specifics of the data collected from three Share Fairs in Table 4. This should provide a reasonable overview of the data collected in total.

Types of data	Description	Share Fair 16/08/16	Share Fair 22/04/17	Share Fair 18/06/17
Participant observation	Multi-sensory experience (physical immersion in the visual, tactile, environment) of being involved (organising/ participating in activities) before, on the day and after the event.	Approx. 8 hours of participation	Approx. 14 hours of participation	Approx. 9 hours of participation
Notes of participant observation	Typical points in the reflection notes - Dates, time, and basic description of the event as well as physical set up - Lists of known attendees and organisers - Chronological account of activities - Notes of conversations, key quotes (as verbatim as memory permits) - Notes on peculiar groupings, spacing any unusual incidents or participant behaviour - Comparisons to previous events and activities within	7 pages of field notes and diagrams translated into an event narrative	1 hour 55 minutes of post-event audio recording 28 pages of transcribed text	56 minutes of post-event audio recording 13 pages of transcribed text
Participant reflections	Thoughts of participants on their blogs or recorded in diaries	8 pages of text	2 pages of text	None
Event documents	Scans of pamphlets, broachers distributed at the event	11 scanned documents	4 scanned documents	10 scanned documents
Photos	- Photos that I captured - Photos posted by the participants and organisers on public access social media	-32 images -97 images	-85 images -93 images	-89 images -27 images
Videos	Video recording of the 'happenings' by me Videos posted by organisers after the event on social media	3 videos 4m 52s total recording	1 video 40 seconds of recording	5 videos 5m 10s total recording
Communication	Systematic record of email or other correspondence with organisers/attendees	16 pages of text	None	5 pages of text
Social media posts	- Systematic record of Facebook and Twitter posts and conversations pre- and post-event - Information displayed on event page - other social media, marketing, and event websites with relevant posts	53 pages of text & images	14 pages of text and images	26 pages of text and images
Miscellaneous	Items crafted at the event (origami, bracelets, pom-poms etc.)	2 objects	4 objects	None

Table 4: Data collection details from three instances of Share Fairs

3.3.2 Participation in Rock4Refugees

Unlike Share Fairs, the event Rock4Refugees (or similar events like Rave4Refugees) happened with different frequencies, hence, the data collection has taken a different format. The information about Rock4Refugees2016, was collected through interview with organisers as well as through social media postings about the event; these are however quite limited. To access Rock4Refugees2017, I became one of the core organisers after participating in a few other minor projects of GP2P. This also allowed partial involvement as an organiser/participant for the next annual event - Rock4Refugees 2018. On the day participation in such events has been recorded similarly to the instances of Share Fair. However, other kinds of data, unavailable in Share Fair was possible for Rock4Refugees. The organiser role entailed attending the weekly/bi-weekly preparatory meetings, publicising for the event as well as undertaking various other responsibilities. The recordings of 'happenings' within the meetings has been accompanied by audio reflection after each meeting and a log of activity progress. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram posts (either promotional or requests for ideas, things, labour etc.), Email correspondence, messages (Facebook messenger or text messages), objects such as draft advertisements and merchandise, documentation etc. have also been systematically recorded.

Rock4Refugees April 2017 - organiser meetings data collection					
Meeting dates	Participation experience	Meeting agenda	Disseminated Meeting minutes	Meeting details recording	Post meeting reflections transcribed
08/02/2017	--	--	--	--	--
15/02/2017	✓	✓	✓	--	✓
01/03/2017	✓	✓	--	--	✓
08/03/2017	--	--	--	--	--
06/04/2017	✓	✓	--	✓	✓
13/04/2017	✓	✓	--	✓	✓
19/04/2017	✓	✓	--	✓	✓
26/04/2017	✓	--	--	✓	✓

Table 5: Rock4Refugees April 2017 - organiser meetings data collection

Photos and videos that I have taken, as well as the ones posted by organisers or attendees in public domain on social media platforms were compiled together. Other material and symbolic artefacts such as pamphlets, brochures, items crafted at event, materials used for group activities, business cards etc. were documented through scanning and photographs. Lastly, another key category of data has been the company information (website as well as Companies House Registration) as well as other secondary data like reports and evaluations that is generated and shared by involved organisations.

Rock4Refuguess and Rave4Refugees events data collection		
Rock4Refugees 16th April 2016		
Types of data	Description	Data generated
Photos	Photos posted on social media	51 images
Social media posts	Record of Facebook and Twitter posts	7 pages
Interviews	Interview with Tom Doughty	See interview log
Rave4Refugees 04th February 2017		
Types of data	Description	Data generated
Participant observation	Multi-sensory experience of 'being there'	5 hours of participation
Reflections	Transcribed audio reflection post-event	16m 40s recording 4 pages of text

Facebook group messages	Record of conversation with organisers	4 pages
Social media posts	Record of Facebook and Twitter posts	39 pages
Photos	Photos posted on social media	19 images
Rock4Refugees 29th April 2017		
Types of data	Description	Data generated
Participant observation	Multi-sensory experience of physically 'being there', organising and participating in the event	Approximately 14.5 hours of participation
Reflections	Transcribed audio reflection post-event	1 h 22 m of audio recording 13 pages of text
Event documents	Scans of pamphlets distributed at the event, stage list, volunteer list, other instructions	7 pages of scanned documents
Photos	Photos captured by the researcher	108 images
Videos	Video recording of the 'happenings' at the event	8 separate recordings 14m 20 s total video
Facebook group messages	Systematic record of Facebook conversation between organisers before and after	21 pages
Social media posts	Systematic record of Facebook and Twitter posts pre / post event	48 pages
Interviews	Interviews with Tom, Cassey and Constance	See interview log
Radio interview	Kane FM radio interview of Tom and Don	57 min 40 sec audio recording
Rave4Refugees 24th November 2017		
Types of data	Description	Data generated
Social media posts	Record of Facebook and Twitter posts	39 pages
Rock4Refugees 19th May 2018		
Types of data	Description	Data generated
Participant observation	Multi-sensory experience of physically 'being there' at Rock4Refugees	Approximately 6 hours of participation
Reflections	Notes of reflections recorded post-event	2 pages of notes
Photos	Photos captured by the researcher	8 photos
Social media posts	Systematic record of Facebook and Twitter posts pre / post event	26 pages
Event documents	Scans of pamphlets distributed at the event	3 pages

Table 6: Rock4Refuguess and Rave4Refugees events data collection

3.3.3 Interviews

Unstructured as well as semi structured interviews (audio recorded where possible), typically occurring as informal chats outside the event, both with attendants and organisers, have also been utilised for both the projects. Table 7 shows the combined interview log for both the projects. Advice offered by authors in conduct of inductive open ended interviews (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Chenail, 2011; Bell, Bryman and Harley, 2019) – maintaining natural flow, minimising disruptions yet careful probing – has been a useful grounding that guided my interview conduct.

Interview Log

Research informant	Interview characteristics	Informant description	Date/s	Duration
Toni Coe	Semi- structured Audio recorded	Community Arts Coordinator at the BoilerRoom: volunteered/managed the SOUP event in June 2016 and the Rock4Refugees 2016 event, looks after the Youth Music Programme	30/06/2016	32m 47s
Carolyn Feaver	Semi-structured Audio recorded	Client Service Manager at Guildford Action looks after their family initiative and has been working with the company for 11+ years. She represented the company at the SOUP in June 2016 in BoilerRoom and went back in September 2016 to discuss implementation. Was involved in most Rock4Refugees events.	30/06/2016	43m 50s
Tom Doughty	Semi- structured Unstructured notes recorded	Member of Guildford People for People: part of the core team of volunteers who pitched and won the funding at the Soup event for the Rock4Refugees. Worked as organiser for all the Rock4Refugee and Rave4Refugee events.	12/07/2016 24/11/2017	42m 57s 28 m
Constance Nash	Unstructured Notes recorded (Skype) Unstructured notes recorded (in-person)	Core member of Dorking refugee support - a medium scale network helping refugees settle locally and also supporting larger organisations. This informal collaborative network was supported through funds raised from Rock4Refugees and were heavily involved in the events as well.	07/03/17 (S) 16/04/2016	40m 50s (S) 35 m
Cassey Quinn	unstructured notes recorded	Member of Guildford People for People: part of the core team of volunteers who worked as organiser for all Rock4Refugee and Rave4Refugee events. She took over as main organiser for Rock4Refugees 2018.	16/04/2016	1h 10m
James Clarke	Unstructured Notes recorded post-interview	Key member of the Ashmoore Park Community Action Committee involved in development of Ashmoore Park Community Action and The Hub. One of the organisers of Share Fair in Milton Keynes and advised Christine on various aspects of the project.	23/11/2016	2h 25m
Helen Innes	Unstructured Notes recorded post-interview	Organiser and committee member for Wolverton Lantern Festival. Participated as a key local organiser for Share Fair in Milton Keynes in August 2016.	18/11/2016	1h 10m
Christine Sefton	Unstructured Audio recorded/ Notes recorded	Core organiser of Share Fair project. The project is her idea and she worked as the main person responsible for organising, co-ordinating, marketing, implementing, and evaluating the Share Fairs as well to establish the future of the project.	28/02/2017 11/08/2017 25/04/2019	51m 58s 34 m 12s 38 m 35 s

Table 7: Interview log

3.4 Legitimacy and implications

Before describing my data analysis, a short detour is necessary at this point. Having explained the *how* and the *what* of my access acquisition and data collection, it is appropriate to take stock and reflect on the nature of this data and the process of its generation. Prior to moving onto the relationship between the data I collected, my research questions and the findings, as well as the analytical tools that established that relationship, it is important to reflect on the practice of my fieldwork (including the discussion of its rigour and validity) and to identify how my research practice influenced the very lens that supports any such relation to be constituted and conceptualised. Inadvertently, this touches upon the form and nature of my data, how I have shaped the data, and what that means for the analysis and further interpretations. In doing so, I shall also group various ideas for discussion that usually warrant consideration on their own: ethical, moral, political, social dimensions of access acquisition and fieldwork, the rigour and validity of my method.

To achieve this, I establish two arguments in this section: 1) for uncovering a complex phenomenon a similarly complex methodological sensibility is required in practice; in finding such resonance between the two, it is possible to claim validity of a certain knowledge perspectives, and 2) such complex methodological sensibility implies that the ethical, moral, social, and political dimensions get inevitably tangled up into and shaped by (and in turn shape) the practice of the method; any separation or causal relation that is imposed on them is simply post-hoc and analytical as it is not possible to isolate these dimensions and resolve the dilemmas inherent to them. Based on (1) and (2), I propose that the researcher's task is **not** to exhaustively identify all such dilemmas (for example, discuss of how the moral consideration affected rigour of my fieldwork and data analysis) and present narratives of how they were resolved, but rather to unpack the underlying 'process story' and reflect on its recursive implications.

In order to establish these arguments, I give a further gist of various personal dilemmas that I faced, how they resonate with the advice given to ethnographers in academic literature and how that relates to and shapes the wider philosophical underpinning of my method. By making this underlying process transparent I claim the legitimacy of my *how* and my *what* of the fieldwork. However, consistent with my stance, the conversations of rigour, validity and legitimacy are not to be restricted to one section of the research methods chapter but are evident in the *whole* of my research work. I leave it up to the reader to judge whether the essence of the argument presented in this section resonates with my wider philosophical outlook and the core arguments that my thesis puts forth. For managing this rather lengthy discussion, abovementioned concerns are combined in what I shall attempt to tackle as a three-pronged problematic: 1) realities of fieldwork, 2) realities of negotiational approach, and 3) their alignment through meta-theory.

The first problematic, realities of fieldwork, contains further vignettes of my fieldwork, stories describing how complex decisions had to be made in the moment, outlining limited role that any pre-set rationale/guidelines for the 'doing' of ethnographic fieldwork could have: how things went wrong, terribly wrong or just right. The next problematic draws on the other ethnographers' experiences and situates this account within the advice that is offered in literature. Deep contradictions within the core of this advice – negotiational approach – are explored. The last problematic details how a meta-theory, which may hold such contradictory ideas neatly together, can work as a sensibility for the *performing* of such research. The use of structuration theory as that sensibility in my research is discussed at length. In practice, these issues are entangled, and I discuss their implication and, legitimacy of my research work through them.

3.4.1 Realities of fieldwork

What to expect from the fieldwork? Absolutely everything that life can throw at you.

Previous sections (2.3.1.2 and 2.3.1.4) that have already detailed how emergent situational understanding of multitudes of complex factors in the field affected my decisions to 'be there', to collect data and to immerse myself further or put some distance. Building on these experiences, this subsection adds further vignettes that foreground the complexity of practice of access and data collection. Such impressionistic accounts of fieldwork can raise important issues regarding the peculiar characteristics of interactions within research, the nature and limitations of engagement as well as the boundary work by agents in defining these very factors (Van Maanen, 1988). The reason for presenting them here is to primarily ascertain how the notions of rigid control over my method were shaky assumptions at best.

Within my fieldwork, circumstance was as prevalent as force of mind.

At the meeting, the community representative was happy to have met me. He tells me that just yesterday he had a conversation with the trustee and one of the agenda-points they had discussed was to try and expand the pool of volunteers. The next day I show up looking to participate more... "right place, right time" he exclaims! I smile and nod along.

My informants assumed an active agentic role in shaping my methods. They took initiative and introduced me to other informants

By way of introduction, C_____, Akash! C_____ is part of Dorking refugee support - a small scale operation helping refugees settle locally and also supporting larger organisations. Akash is doing a doctorate in community organisations and is helping us at R4R. He is also gathering info on other organisations for his PhD. Thought you two should know each other!!!! (Facebook message – T)

My informants often suggested ways to accommodate my 'research activities' and set them up for me

JL___, who helped with MK share fair and was the main organiser of Bodmin Share Fair is coming up with me in the van. To be in time for a meeting in Essex, I am suggesting we travel up on the Thursday and stay over in London area Thursday evening. I am wondering if you would be able to put J____ up at your place, which would also give you the opportunity to chat to him for your data collection? (I would stay with either my daughter or my friend in SN____). Then on the Friday we could travel together to Essex for the meeting. Also, I've just booked us a big caravan for 4 nights from … Saturday we can help get things ready for Share Fair – you can run some interviews. Generally, we will have a blast. (emails from C)

The research work was also marred with uncertainty. Until the later stages of my research, what constituted 'data' was unclear to me, let alone my informants. The strategy I used to work around this was to negotiate consent on a conversational basis first, then clear the collected data as acceptable once the write up was well underway. With the aim of managing participant reactivity, I conveyed research information in a conversational manner as the encounters with my informants became more engaging, natural, and frequent. It soon became evident that the documents such as research information letter and consent forms could only play a limited role.

When he came back, to get back into the flow, he asked me 'so…now remind me again what it is that you are looking at exactly?'. I reached into the bag and gave him the information letter and consent form. He takes it but casually waves it away and goes "That's okay really, forget about the documents, if you just tell me what you do that will be enough [laughs]".

On many occasions, the moral and ethical responsibility surrounding consent was taken away from documents (or ethic boards) and placed, specifically on me. This peculiar open-ended nature of the fieldwork meant an opportunity for a different kind of immersion albeit with its own drawbacks. I was easily offered a way in, but the lines were necessarily blurred.

Earlier in the event, I also made a point of getting introduced to J_____ and offered to help. My role as a participant vs. an observer has pushed me trying to create a sense of 'belonging'. The way I was introducing myself to people here (my work in the place and having one foot in London and one in here) also seems to be the effect of the same thing. In a close-knit community events like this, people tend to come in groups and want to belong. In the same spirit, and to be more 'participative', I had asked J____ to let me know if there was anything I could help with and he had suggested that I take part in some evaluation discussions. [Reflections – Akash]

But rather necessarily, there were times when such negotiated basis of consent and overall access became an issue

Due to the extent of data collected from her, I had said that we would sit down together and sift through each conversation before we can agree on what can be used. We agreed that that seemed a better way to handle things than a simple signature on a form. In the meantime, however, I had done a draft write-up and sent it to her and her manager. After that I got a text saying, 'Can we speak?'. She was very unhappy that I had included some quotes where she had mentioned her boss and whether they would agree with a certain way of work. The conversation went terribly. I had not the slightest sense that it could have been problematic. With teary voice of regret, I apologised over and over. It felt like I had betrayed a friend without intending to do so. In the end I salvaged the situation, but it made me re-think about consent in a wider sense. Even with her signature on a consent form beforehand, this situation could not have been foreseen or avoided. What she saw as problematic had only become apparent to me after the conversation about it actually went wrong.

In the early stages, as the research was being shaped, a detailed ethics proposal that discussed the potential issues around implementation was submitted to Open University Ethics Committee (ref. HREC/2017/2477/Puranik/1) and was approved prior to the start of fieldwork. Although, as the vignettes above suggest, the reality of ethical consideration has been much more complex than any such a document can outline. Due to the nature of the research undertaken, it has simply not been possible to follow the proposed actions in the ethics proposal to the word (oh dear!) However, it also does not mean even in the slightest that the ethical, social, political, and moral considerations played a nonsignificant role in directing and situating my behaviour. The underlying essence of the submitted ethics proposal, my moral values, the sensitivity that was developed towards the organisations and the actors through my immersion as well as the contextually negotiated codes of conduct heavily informed my ethical considerations. There was no 'given' right way to go about research access or fieldwork. Similarly, there were no 'given' rules of what constituted data. The immersion built my understanding over time about what can, cannot and should not be used. My strategy in managing this was to record, recall, note and collect everything and anything that seemed even slightly relevant and compare it against the overall data, reflect on its significance and negotiate consent. Due to the peculiar nature of the research subject however, any prior direction offered, was always limited.

To reiterate,

- the unexpected and the unknown of the fieldwork posed issues that were wider than what my anticipation and imagination could accommodate.

- my informants played agentic role in directing and guiding my research enterprise.

- researcher identity was necessarily fluid and tangled with various other identities that were assumed in the fieldwork.

- 'in the moment' actions performed to obtain and maintain access or to perform fieldwork were heavily dependent on the circumstance as much as premediated intention, these sometimes worked while other times presented issues.

- the answer that I was consistently left with was 'there isn't one right answer'.

I offer one final vignette from my reflections which should help situate the human aspects of such research work, and necessarily many of its limitations.

We ended up having a fantastic two-hour discussion and really clicked. He told me that he and his wife had so many plans for the Community Hub and that the next time I should come along and to speak with her. It was actually through her that he had gotten introduced to many of these initiatives. I added him on Facebook before I left, with intention to send a follow up message for a chat with both of them. Back on the train I was rather excitedly recording reflections of our whole interaction. That same night he posted on Facebook that they had to rush his wife to the hospital for a sudden brain aneurism and three hours later she had passed away. The shock and sadness I felt cannot be put in the words. I never summoned courage to send him any message, even of condolence. My last discussions with him were about the future plans that they both had, and I just didn't know what to say. I kept thinking that even reminding him of my presence would be a terrible idea and didn't know what to do. In the end, I lost this person as informant due to the lack of follow up on my part, a decision I stand by. However, every now and then, I could not fault thinking that even if I had chosen another way to deal with this, it could have been just as equally right and wrong at the same time. The uneasiness about the situation simply does not go away.

3.4.2 Realities of negotiational approach

How can an ethnographer handle such messy reality? By negotiation and reflection, but of course!

That the research work reality is complex is not a new claim; it has been acknowledged and discussed at length (Brown, Monthoux and McCullough, 1976; Bruni, 2006; O'Brien, 2006; Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Li, 2008; Van Maanen, 2010; McCurdy and Uldam, 2014). The literature surrounding ethnographic practice provides a suitable ground to anchor the researcher's discomforts and carry on; the overwhelming advice provided is 'negotiate it, get on with it, reflect and make the best of it'.

In my case, most times I entered the setting unaware of what to expect. Even as I left the fieldwork the relevance of particular activities was unclear. The idea of being able to plan and execute a clearly set access or data collection strategy for such a setting was far from plausible; so, I simply had to manage situations as they developed and learn to get by. This is in line with Bruni's (2006) consideration of access as a continual trajectory, which demands adapting to organisational time-space, figuring out the know-how of basic activities, and devising ad hoc techniques to 'get in'. For my research, due to the interorganisational context and, at the same time, due to involvement in numerous projects, these difficulties multiplied pressure from many directions. Such negotiations have been considered to lead to accumulation of rich experiences that inform the research work. Jaimangal-Jones (2014) argues that the ability of ethnographic work to offer greater breadth of cultural information and deeper insight into the participant motivations, behaviours and experiences actually arrives from the negotiations and the continuous navigation of positioning on observer-participant spectrum, identity, and reactivity.

Similarly, various other facets of fieldwork can be grounded using the advice offered to/by ethnographers. I have used profuse discussions on untangling the problematic aspects of ethical, moral, political, and social dimensions of access acquisition and fieldwork (Brown, Monthoux and McCullough, 1976; Bruni, 2006; Buchanan and Bryman, 2007; Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016) as a sensemaking device for the vignettes in section above. My accounts have also highlighted the complexities surrounding becoming an insider (Li, 2008; Oliver and Eales, 2008; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014), remaining a researcher (Li, 2008; McCurdy and Uldam, 2014), and exiting the field (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Fetterman, 2010; Michailova *et al.*, 2014; Smith and Atkinson, 2017). These issues are already discussed by above authors in depth and I concur that they heavily shroud the fieldwork practices.

Such issues are not only multifaceted and multipronged but also multilateral; it is only possible to consider a few such ideas that struck a deep chord in my own fieldwork. For example, the issues of narrow criterion in existing ethical guidelines, specifically for ethnographic or insider research, has been raised previously (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Oeye, Bjelland and Skorpen, 2007; Pearson, 2009; Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013). Using one day of fieldwork as an example in her ethnographic study of single-mother child protection families in the Netherlands, Verhallen (2016) illustrates that the dynamics of interactions and power as well as the embeddedness in theoretical reflexivity deeply surrounds research work, which in turn, is instrumentalized through embodied subjectivity of the researcher. She uses this to demonstrate the inadequacy of anticipatory principles of code of ethics. Her arguments have been supported by a consideration of other such problematic aspects: required deceptions (Easterby-Smith, Thrope and Jackson, 2012), hindrances created by insistence on anonymity (Taylor and Land, 2014), and the generally fluid, unpredictable social reality (Brown, Monthoux and McCullough, 1976; O'Brien, 2006). In correspondence, my access accounts reinforce the stance that most of the multifaceted ethical, social, political, and moral issues surrounding access work simply cannot be solved in anticipation.

Some other widely discussed issues in ethnographic work are managing the participant's reactivity (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Pearson, 2009), positioning of the researcher in the observer/participant spectrum, (Feldman, 2011; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014; McCurdy and Uldam, 2014) managing distortion of research field (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Oeye, Bjelland and Skorpen, 2007; Pearson, 2009), managing social desirability bias (Pearson, 2009) and impact of shifting researcher identities. Being aware of these aided my fieldwork with solace that these are perennial issue that also plague other ethnographer's fieldwork and that there are no easy answers. Fine (1994) has acutely spelled out the 'lies of ethnography' that maintain an illusion of an always kind, honest, observant, friendly and fair (among other adjectives) ethnographer. The gist of his argument is that reality is always more complex, requires a lot more *managing* and ethnographer has to live with the moral and methodological choices made. I have used my reflections about the impact of dissemination of research information on research field as a rich source of data to juxtapose the analysis against. Many authors agree that honest communication, based on the comfort and the trust level of the research subjects, is a key element in managing such dilemmas (Li, 2008; Oliver and Eales, 2008; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014). I performed this by sitting down with my informants and sifting through piles of data generated together as we agreed on what should or should not be used. I also sent the copies of my final write up to my research informants to read and to approve. Besides a few minor revisions, mainly to clarify the content, the participants did not suggest major changes to the data that I had chosen as representative.

My immersion significantly affected and shaped the research being carried out. I agree with McCurdy and Uldam (2014) that researcher positioning is a fluid process and cannot be controlled but the attempts to clarify position in each of these situations are useful. As the access accounts have outlined,

even within any one particular setting, I was continuously shifting between my role as a researcher, volunteer, organiser, local student, representative, observer, etc. Polymorphous engagement suggested by Jaimangal-Jones (2014), which includes socialising with and observing the key informants before and after the events, is a useful tactic that I frequently utilised. In addition, a reflective research log has also been kept for achieving a level of clarity of my own shifting positions (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Holloway, Brown and Shipway, 2010; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014). It is also worth considering that features such as gender, age, physical characteristics and ethnicity affect the participant's reactivity (Li, 2008) and can create tense situations in the (Oliver and Eales, 2008). This research has been carried out in diverse communities of cultural variety and the 'ascribed characteristics' (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007) mentioned above, which cannot be managed, played a role in the nature of the data I gathered. My own cultural background, values, personality, idiosyncrasies, and beliefs definitely shaped the research and, while helpful in some situations, they proved to be a barrier in others (e.g., at some of the events I attended I was the only non-white and the youngest organiser). I follow the guidance from Li (2008) who suggests that a conscious understanding of these issues and a critical and reflective account of these situations make the narrative richer and interesting, rather than considering it to be limited due to these unmanageable attributes.

Lastly, another theoretical framework that supports such 'find your own way in this complex wilderness' position is the four hyphen-spaces of identity work: insiderness-outsiderness, sameness-difference, engagement-distance, and political activism-active neutrality (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013). Drawing on personal experience of ethnographic work in a tea plantation in Sri Lanka, Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013) emphasize on the fluid and agentic nature of the researcher-respondent identities and suggest that the consideration of these emergent spaces actually imply a reconstruction of methodology, method and research design. Similar to earlier discussions this meant continuous questioning of 'what was I doing?' and writing detailed accounts of possible 'why'.

So, the predominant insight from authors discussing ethnographic work seems to be 'expect there to be a lot of unexpected'. Regardless of the situation being more or less unusual, an ethnographer is almost always expected to anchor him/herself in through common sense and 'to figure it out', with underlying assumption that this sensemaking will make research richer. A commonality between the positions above, supported through my account, is that the *day-to-day* of fieldwork gets interwoven with various conceptual abstractions (ethics, honesty, fairness, morality, identity, and of course, research related concepts) and is continually enacted through the negotiational work performed by a situated researcher.

However, there is an even more interesting problem at play in this dynamic. Parker (2007) suggests that arguing for this negotiational approach, a widely used stance towards the resolution of ethical, moral, social, and political considerations by ethnographers, is itself complex and raises deeper methodological challenges. Discussing the implications in light of his ethnographic work at the Genethics Club he argues that "the possibility of negotiational forms of consent depends upon engagement between researchers and researched" (Parker, 2007, p. 2248), which unavoidably moves the common-sense ethical objects such as 'respect', 'dignity', 'honesty', 'justice', etc. back into the arena of enacted practices. Any conceptual ground is necessarily understood through the negotiation of it i.e., through performing it. Even the understanding around the negotiational approach is only to be arrived at through negotiation. So, we have gone full circle and come back to the root of the problem: 'how to know, in advance, what you do not know'. It is a useful reminder that the problem of 'not knowing what to expect' (here, from fieldwork) is not unique to researcher, but rather a general characteristic of life itself. There are, however, some significant differences for purposes of research work, which is where the third problematic is worthy of consideration.

3.4.3 Alignment through meta-theory

Can researchers get out of this unending cycle? No, but they can at least try to grasp its underlying mechanism.

As noted earlier, for the ethnographer, or widely for any researcher, the issue is not two but three pronged. I had to not only manage what I could not know in advance but also justify the reasons for expecting it to be valuable as well as discuss the rigour in the process of its familiarisation. I had to interweave the practical problems of managing the realities of fieldwork and its supposed solution - negotiational approach – with my wider methodological and philosophical stance. While my informants faced a similar issue (organising in the unfamiliar and unexpected), they were not (always) asked for a discursive account of their rationale for actions outside the research context. In contrast, the researcher is necessarily accountable to various *others*. For the research work to be termed 'good' research (validity, reliability, confirmability, transferability, credibility and what-have-you-bility), the process of the weaving of these three threads (problematics discussed in section 3.4.1, 3.4.2 and 3.4.3) needed to retain an internal logical consistency or, at the least, a rhythm or a symmetry (Law, 2004). Further, this had to be accompanied by an explicit discursive account of reflections about how this consistency or rhythm is appropriate for the research situation. It is at this point, that I explored the meta-theoretical outlook – the guiding principle which subsumes previously discussed problematics, to see whether a 'right fit' is plausible. As Van Maanen (2010) points out, such 'right fit' might decide whether the fieldwork, headwork and textwork of ethnography makes sense together – whether the hummed tune turns out a graceful symphony or a discordant cacophony. Within my research, structuration theory has acted as that guiding principle; and is used to tackle the above problematic of combining realities of fieldwork, realities of negotiational approach and wider methodological stance. A few pointers from structuration theory that are helpful for that purpose are below:

1. The crux of the problem is acknowledged by Giddens when he notes "all social research has a necessarily cultural, ethnographic or "anthropological" aspect to it." (1984, p. 284). He actually goes further to insists that "immersion in a form of life is the necessary and only means whereby an observer is able to generate such [recognisable] characterisation" (1993, p. 169), which he deems to be the task of sociological researcher.
2. However, in doing so the position of researcher is no different than any other member of society that s/he is observing. The researcher has to draw on 'mutual knowledge' that is the "interpretive schemes which both sociologists and lay actor use, and must use, to 'make sense' of social activity" (1993, p. 169)
3. In doing so the sociological observer is iteratively caught up into the double hermeneutic cycle of the sociological concepts, any separation becomes merely analytical and is not actual (2010; 1993). This is of considerable importance and complexity because "there is continual 'slippage' of concepts constructed […], whereby these are appropriated by those whose conduct they were originally coined to analyse, and hence tend to become integral feature *of* that conduct" (1993, p. 170 emphasis in original)
4. So, any attempts to definitively sort these rules/resources (here, continually slipping concepts such as honesty or ethics of fieldwork) are unhelpful. Instead, "as an operating principle of research, what structuration theory suggests is not that we should seek to categorise or classify the rules and resources involved in a given area of social conduct, but rather that we should place the emphasis squarely upon the constitution and reconstitution of social practices." (Giddens and Pierson, 1998, p. 298)

So, Giddens tackles the problem by abstracting the process of *doing* (here in the context of doing research) at a high level and by acknowledging that what seems to be problematic is merely the performing of 'life as usual' through concepts whose constitution cannot be separated from a reflexive agent performing that life. The analytical focus of research needs to be shifted onto the process of (re)constitution of social practices rather than being shackled by the 'chicken or egg' problem, which he considers a duality rather than a dualism.

That structuration theory operates in such a manner and works as a highly abstract process theory has been broadly acknowledged (Held and Thompson, 1989; Craib, 1992, 2011; Baert, 1998). However, more oft than not, this has been directed as a criticism (Bauman, 1989; Gregson, 1989; Thompson, 1989; Archer, 1996). Archer (1996) suggests that such abstraction is simply a conflation of 'people' and 'parts' which has effect of precluding any examination of interplay, and instead she reaffirms usefulness of analytical dualism. Bauman (1989) faults Giddens for 'hypostasis' – turning a social pattern or distribution into a process or thing, claiming that this conversion implies inability to say anything significant about practical matters. Gregson (1989) also critiques structuration as a second order theory that only allows making sense of theorising itself. On the contrary, I saw these very features as immensely useful aspects of structuration theory rather than its weaknesses. Structuration is purposefully meant to be employed as a 'sensitising device' (see point 4 above, also de Rond, 2003; Craib, 2011) rather than as a clearly sketched out research programme that informs empirical work for researchers. It offers a means to (however tenuously) hold on to the *general* while freeing up the researcher to tackle the *particular.* In my research ethnographic thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) are used to access the *particular,* whereas structuration theory (Giddens, 2010) has been used to access underlying mechanisms of the *general;* both devices have their limitation but they still permit me to "say something of something […] which attends to their substance rather than to reductive formulas professing to account for them" (Geertz, 1973 p. 453). Due to its high level of abstraction, using a sensitizing device such as structuration theory, also allows one to lightly grasp the processual complexity of the research work itself (such as performing access and fieldwork) while making room for the researcher to conceptualise its various facets. I shall briefly outline what this implies for my ethnographic access acquisition and fieldwork.

Using structurationist sensibility as a ground, a somewhat bold claim is possible. Various arguments that were considered relevant (see - realities of negotiational approach above):

- access as a continual trajectory that demands adapting to the organisational time-space, figuring out the know-how, and devising ad hoc techniques to 'get in' (Bruni, 2006);
- depth of ethnographic research as only achieved through negotiations and the continuous navigation of positioning on the observer-participant spectrum, identity, and reactivity (Jaimangal-Jones, 2014);
- consideration of ethnographic work as a phenomena surrounded by interaction, power and reflexivity that is instrumentalized through embodied subjectivity of the researcher (Verhallen, 2016);
- conveying of fluid and agentic nature of the researcher-respondent identities as hyphen-spaces that recursively imply complex reconstruction of methodological perspective (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013);
- drawing of negotiational forms of consent on engagement between researchers and researched which shifts ethical objects into the arena of enacted practices (Parker, 2007);
  and even
- the practicality behind the lies of ethnographic work (Fine, 1994)

can all be neatly pulled together in a common 'mode of researcher conduct'. This is the mode of conduct that I found myself adopting (realities of fieldwork) as well as shaping and reshaping through my own practice of research. Notwithstanding the different disciplines, origins, purposes and methods, a common ground for all these authors' arguments can be found in the structurationist view. I put forth that using structurationist lens these arguments can be tactfully combined if the enactment of access, as well as the wider practice of the research work itself, is treated as an ongoing "practical accomplishment of social activities" (Giddens, 1984, p.26) on the part of the researcher. Then the seemingly contradictory or paradoxical behaviour in access acquisition or fieldwork - the fracturing of a neat, clean research method that exists somewhere in a theoretical vacuum - does not need to be treated as an issue but rather a reflection of the nature of the research work undertaken. My research method, while with some flaws, still has value because research done in a flawed world necessarily embodies flaws of that world. What I suggest is that, sometimes, it is rather useful to pause and reflect upon these flaws.

3.4.4 Implications as recursive legitimisation

Accordingly, in my fieldwork, what was ethical or moral in one instance was not so in another, what was common sense in one place was ridiculous in another, almost everything was 'up for grabs', to be negotiated; and all of that had to be considered methodologically acceptable. For instance, it was necessary to use verbally negotiated access mid or post data collection in one scenario whereas following a more formal means of informed consent was more useful in another; a mix of different organisational roles, personalities, collaborative context meant I had to employ personal judgement and adopt different researcher positions in the fieldwork. This was because the research as a *form of life* simply reflected in it the character of what was being observed. The informal collaborative work I was researching was unstructured, serendipitous, unpredictable, full of contradictions and complex, how could my immersion in it be anything else. My informants were making sense of the unknown 'in the moment', dealing with and organising through vast uncertainties. To be a participant observer that is sensitive to this dynamic, I needed to do the same.

However, as demonstrated above, this stands in tension with the core characteristics of research work, which prioritise order. For my research purposes the meta-theory simply needed to allow for the paradoxical fit between order-disorder – rejecting the dualism and accepting its dualistic nature, which as shown above, structuration theory does very well. Using structurationist ideas, the logical coherence between possibly contradictory, open, and continually transmuting conceptual abstractions (such as ethics, morality, identity, and of course other research related concepts that I have used) can still be maintained by treating their reification simply as a mode of practical activity referring to a form of life*:* access acquisition and fieldwork. My ethnographic method of *being there* meant that my research work partly assumed characteristics of what *life there* was. That the hummed tune actually resonated with the song must have meant something was done right, at least sometimes.

But of course, leaving the issue there is not enough; such implications need explicating if they are to also function as legitimisation. What my stance implies is that a deeper understanding (practical as well as discursive) of the access and fieldwork process warrants not simply participating in it as a form of life but also a post-hoc analytical reflexive uncovering of that process. In simpler words 'telling the process story' of how my research was done and 'making sense' of it, with conscious understanding that such story is one of many, and unavoidably incomplete. Consequently, conceptualisation takes a different form – the *verstehen* (Weber, 1997) of ethnographic fieldwork i.e., 1) systematically and reflexively drawing on personal experiences and 2) situating them descriptively within the other researchers' accounts in itself becomes the core medium of uncovering its processual complexity and justification. In describing above the *how* and the *what* of my research in depth and situating the

implications and the recursive legitimacy of that *how* and *what* within other researchers' accounts in this section, I have accomplished precisely the same. Having established (as is their nature, inherently shaky but nevertheless valid) grounds on which I have built this research enterprise, the next section details how my data was analysed and interpreted.

3.5 Making sense of the mess – analysis and theorising

Atkinson and Hammersley (2007, pg. 93) aptly note "(analysis) begins at the moment a fieldworker selects a problem to study and ends with the last word in the report". The iterative, continuous process of making sense of my diverse, messy, and massive data has probably been the most challenging aspect of this research work. Rather than a structured process, it is something more akin to a vivid dream born within the imaginative chaos, with a few and far stabilising points that have acted as an analytical guiding post. I shall begin with outlining the purposes of analysis and then move on to how these were accomplished through the analytical tasks.

3.5.1 Purposes of analysis

The data was analysed with two broad purposes in mind: 1) for creating an ethnographic narrative and 2) for constructing and uncovering conceptual insights.

3.5.1.1 Creating an ethnographic narrative:

"Task of ethnography is frequently formulated as the description of a culture, social system or social world, conceived as bounded and internally structured. The phenomenon being described is the anchor of the ethnographic account" (Hammersley, 1990). For accomplishing this – to construct a relevant insider story from the data – it was necessary to organise and be able to easily retrieve fragments from the vast, multi-modal data I had collected. To weave these data fragments into a thick description it was also necessary to see them separated, together and as a whole at the same time. Accordingly, in the first stages, my analysis was simply geared to support the creation of a thick rich description. For this, I have used theories sparingly and primarily focused on building a local narrative. The core aim was to get a meaningful story of unstructured informal collaborations better known in layman terms and make informal collaborative projects more visible.

Ethnographic descriptive narratives are not unproblematic. Hammersley has engaged with the problems of ethnographic descriptions and the claims underneath them at great length. He strongly critiques underlying theoretical justification for all rationales of description putting forth that "empirical phenomena are descriptively inexhaustive. We can provide multiple, true descriptions of any scene" (Hammersley, 1990 p. 606). All supposedly satisfactory answers for the question 'why this story?' are, in the end, stories in themselves. Further, he concludes that ethnographic descriptions are only theoretical in the sense that they apply theories teleologically. One of the aims of my research endeavour was to give voice to the actors performing within and creating collaborative projects, to describe the day-to-day, behind the scenes work that is usually unseen or unheard, which is what my descriptive answer accomplishes. I undertake this with conscious awareness that a completely value-free or theory-free story does not exist, and that my deeper assumptions have necessarily shaped what I have selectively presented.

For creating this answer, I have drawn on a well-established tradition of ethnographic storytelling: thick descriptions; a term introduced by Geertz (1973) based on the writings of the philosopher Gilbert Ryle. Thick descriptions are researcher's account of the micro-interactions in the field (Cunliffe, 2010); they are the detailed contextual patterns of socio-historic-cultural relationships that evoke particularised emotions and meaning (Holloway, Brown, and Shipway, 2010). Accordingly, validity of

my descriptive answer does not have the same basis as the scientific experimentation aimed at generating facticity but is rather based on authenticity, plausibility and giving a sense of 'being there' and grasping intricacies of life. For instance, my fieldnotes were converted into written accounts of lived experience by transforming note-to-self scribbles into meaningful vignettes through coding process (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Lê, 2014). In doing so, my account brings assorted experiences of everyday collaborative life in focus, which allows one to "say something of something […] which attends to their substance rather than to reductive formulas professing to account for them" (Geertz, 1973, p. 453). In addition, these descriptions were disseminated to research informants who agreed to their representative essence and contributed to their shaping.

3.5.1.2 Uncovering conceptual insights:

Besides telling the contextual story, my task was to identify where this research could 'make a dent' conceptually and for research or practice. My research question was shaped through this understanding and was tentative until the end stages of the analysis. I worked with an assumption that the differences I observed in the organising culture, and the peculiarities of the organising process were something that could contribute towards knowledge in the theories surrounding collaborative work. As my analysis progressed, I recognised the deep contradictions at an interpersonal level as being able to make that dent. With this in mind, I directed the analytical process at understanding the *how* of the collaborative work. During the same process, through my reading and through the continued analysis of data, as outlined in section 3.1, I identified structuration theory as a helpful tool which could make sense of the recursive and the contradictory, both for my research process as well as for the phenomenon I was observing. Unlike the data organised and presented for the first purpose, creating an ethnographic narrative, the connection to and the influence of theory in accomplishing this analytical purpose is more explicit. I have accomplished the second analytical purpose by employing analysis of strategic conduct and analytical generalisation.

2a) Analysis of strategic conduct

Analysis of strategic conduct, as proposed by Giddens (1984, 1993, 2010), is able to examine agent conduct in a specific way that was useful for me to make sense of contradictions at an interpersonal level within my data. This is because such analysis accommodates contradictions and looks at how actors draw on rules and resources in their activity focusing on "the nature of agents' knowledgeability and thereby their reasons for action, across a wide range of action-contexts" (Giddens, 1984, p.328). To perform this, I used concepts from structuration theory – signification, domination, legitimisation – to (re)analyse the ethnographic narrative generated through the first analytical purpose and to uncover conceptual insights. In doing so, the analysis moved iteratively between empirical and theoretical. The theoretical concepts aided analysis and, in turn, were reaffirmed through my analysis; interpretations that I present (Chapter 5) are a result of theory and data both combined together cyclically and continually where neither had priority.

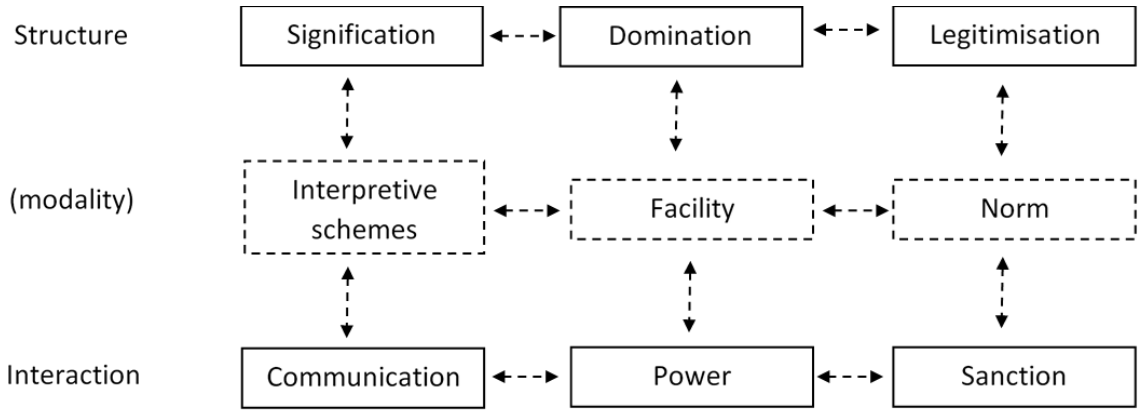


Figure 8: Dimensions of duality of structure (Giddens, 1984, p.29)

I used the dimensions of duality of structure, identified by Giddens (see Figure 8), to describe and group various aspects of contradictions that I had observed in my data under the categories of ethicality, consensus building and meaning making. The modalities in Figure 8 were used to separate, for analytical purpose, the entangled aspects of contradictory enactment I noted in day-to-day conduct of collaborative work. Using these, I have proposed models of manner in which these structures are interlinked in practice for the specific context that I observed. Furthermore, I have coined and used the term the 'human work of collaboration' to show the way collaborators performed. I observed this *human* work of collaboration throughout my immersion, noted it as important and further, re-surfaced and established it as such through my analysis. The process of how this was performed is discussed in detail in section 3.5.2.2.

2b) Analytical generalisation

Beyond creating an interpretive argument for *how* collaborative work was being performed in an informal context, I claim that the concept *human* work of collaboration has potential to stretch to other contexts. I support this claim this using a specific form of analytical generalisation: 'positioning'. Halkier (2011) outlines positioning as a "way of making analytical generalization [that] underlines the nonstable and nonfinal character of inferences made on the basis of qualitative data materials" (p.793), nevertheless, such inferences invoke an appealing sense of familiarity in other aspects of life beyond what is immediately within the focus. This author, through exemplifying empirical work, shows how positioning can be performed to emphasize on the situational and the dynamic, furthermore, he argues that such analytical exercise speaks to the complexity and instability of our knowledge categories as a whole (Halkier, 2011). However, in doing so, the transferability of these (always nonstable) insights is reinforced. To be able perform analytical generalisation through positioning, the characteristic that Delmar (2010) identifies is 'doubleness'. This quality of doubleness, something being unique and typical at the same time, is plausibly argued for my research setting. The informal context within which collaborative organising was taking place was unique (usual management wisdom was ignored, organising took place without formal rules or contracts, uncertainty was embraced), but at the same time, the rules and resources that actors were drawing on were typical (everyday norms politeness and goodwill, knowledge of how to do something based on personal or social circumstance). Hence, using a narrative review of the literature that has examined collaborative work within other contexts, I position my interpretive argument as being able to contribute novel insights that extend beyond the informal contexts. Such analytical generalisation can also be termed phronesis (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2006; Thomas, 2010) rather than theory. However, if we acknowledge the world to be fundamentally heterogeneous, ambiguous, and complex, any 'knowledge' is necessarily a situated form of explanatory account and such distinctions are superficial.

The above two purposes, creation of ethnographic narrative and uncovering conceptual insights, guided the whole process of data analysis. The latter has been significantly dependant on the former. In the below section I will detail the analytical tasks undertaken to achieve the above purposes.

3.5.2 Analytical tasks

Analytical tasks carried out were of the below types:

a] Organising data for collating and retrieval
b] Breaking down data into fragments and rearranging fragments into emergent categories
c] Piecing the data fragments and categories together into multiple cohesive sets/themes/stories
d] Uncovering and establishing nature and strength of linkage between fragments within same/different categories
e] Constructing definitive meanings of fragments(ing), categories(ing) and linkage(ing) using meta theory
f] Positioning emergent arguments within current literature through discussions

Inductive
↕
Deductive

NVivo was primarily used to accomplish the analytical tasks a, b, and c, which were more useful for creating ethnographic narrative) as well as to strengthen the outcomes of d, e, and f, which were useful for constructing conceptual insight. The in-depth clarification of the role of NVivo follows the guidelines suggested by MacMillan and Koenig (2004). Please refer to Figure 9 below for a detailed outline of the different stages in which the analytical tasks were performed.

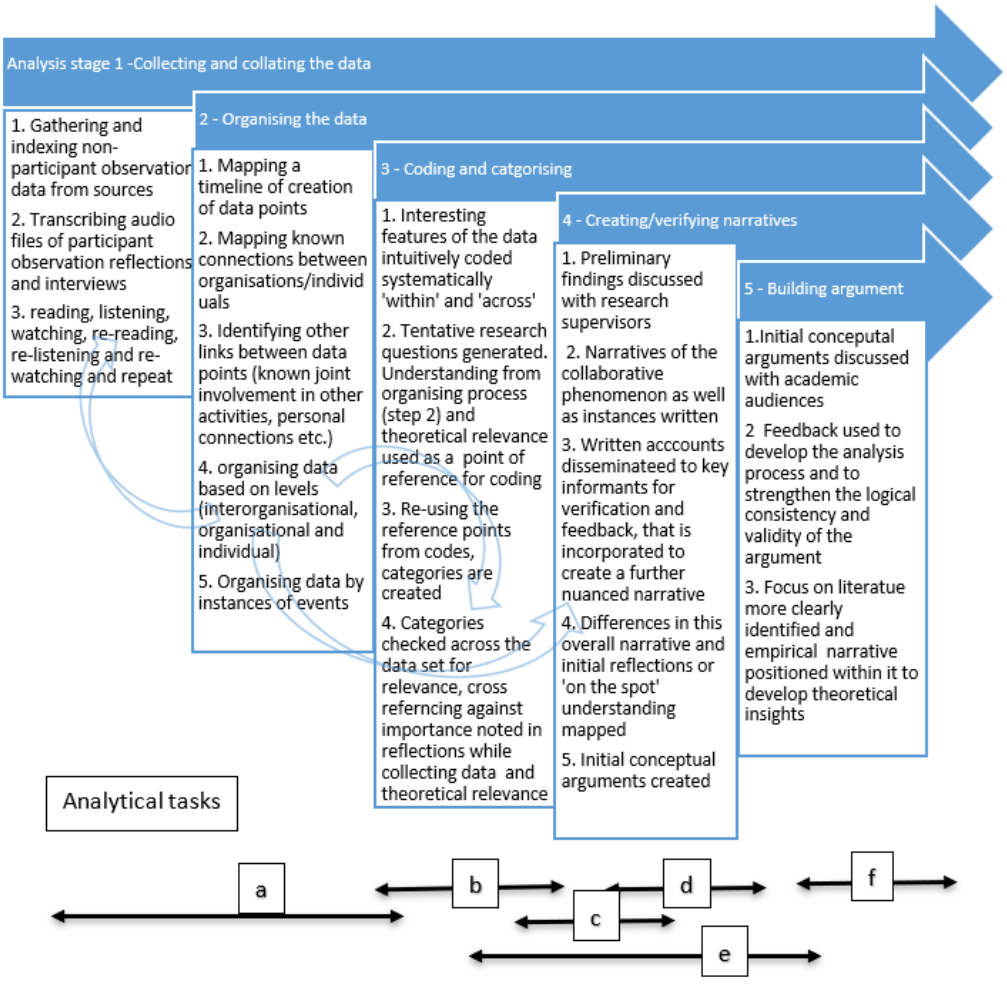


Figure 9: Stages of data analysis

3.5.2.1 Early stages of analysis (stages 1, 2, 3 and parts of 4)

Firstly, NVivo was used to index, code, and classify the data in one place. Immersion in data (stage 1.1 to 1.3), such as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) has been achieved through 1) collating data from various sources, 2) transcribing, 3) reading, listening, watching, re-reading, re-listening and re-watching and repeat and 4) organising data in multiple ways. Over time and through multiple means of repetitive engagement I familiarised myself with my data. Semantic organising processes (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Bryman and Bell, 2015; Bell, Bryman and Harley, 2019) were used to experiment with collating data within NVivo; these included (Stage 2.1 to 2.4) organising data points to map a timeline of data creation, hand drawn maps of links between numerous data points, mapping known connections between organisations/individuals at specific points and organising same data differently by levels (interorganisational, organisational, individual). Contextualist thematic analysis steps indicated by Braun and Clarke (2006) were useful as a guiding principle; yet the analysis I have performed is not simply thematic. However, a resemblance to the six steps of thematic analysis that Braun and Clarke (2006) advise is certainly visible in the Figure 9 because the notion of thematic grouping remains at the core of my analytical process.

<u>Categories used for data</u>

Nodes – Main category used to perform inductive (relatively non-normative, without conscious theoretical underpinning) coding at the early stages of the analysis. The functionality in NVivo to combine nodes hierarchically was used to organise nodes that could be grouped together using similar logic. However, the hierarchical grouping was only used for cleaning and organising data points. I deliberately resisted temptation to conceptualise through the node grouping. This differentiation was necessary because the nodes created through early analysis were more complexly interrelated than simply hierarchically.

Sets – To overcome the limitations of nodes (only hierarchical relations possible), NVivo sets were utilised. This category was applied to assess and impose connectedness between nodes, to put the nodes together in a non-hierarchical fashion and to visualise the relationship and strength of relationships between various data fragments. This allowed for a more complex interconnectedness between various fragments of data to surface (see Figure 10). Use of sets and cases also allowed for intersections of data (queries) that were used principally for the write up of findings.

Cases – Use of case as a category allowed for distinguishing data pertaining to individual projects within the wider categories of nodes and sets. The cases were formed using source classification. Node functionality of NVivo was used to identify which data sources (and fragments) were from Share Fair and/or Rock4Refugees etc. This also allowed for possibility of cleaner intersections when using queries.

Stories – This (non-NVivo) category was used for specific data that afforded richer understanding by not being broken into smaller fragments. These usually large chunks of data (selected for their allegorical meaning but almost never modified) were simply collated in a separate MS Word document. I have supplemented these with a context headline and have mainly used them as vignettes ‘as is’ to exemplify certain traits of the observed phenomenon (see examples in section 4.3)

<u>Key data visualisation techniques used</u>

Project maps – Project maps in NVivo were used to see interrelatedness between nodes and sets. Maps were also used to identify the associated items, that in turn, allowed to assess what aspects of

the data were under consideration when I was using a certain set (or an intersection of set) to write the findings/interpretation section. The maps also served as a helpful reminder of the topics to include within my write up.

Queries – Queries allowed an intersection of all of the abovementioned categories. Queries were extremely helpful NVivo function that allowed the data to be seen in pieces and as a whole at the same time, specifically sliced for nodes relevant for certain discussion. I used the amount of data fragments that populated certain sections of the query as an approximate indication of whether the emphasis in narrative was symmetrical to the emphasis on certain section in data collected (see Table 8). As Table 8 shows, performing on the day (section 4.1.4 and 4.2.4) and planning up to the day (section 4.1.5 and 4.2.5) were the sections that had the highest node concentration. Accordingly, in writing these sections, I have purposefully allocated them more space. Similarly, intersection of researcher involvement within Share Fair was selected to write the account of access acquisition for the whole of the research (section 3.2.1).

	A : Rock4Refugees	B : Share Fair
1 : Origins and development	25	127
2 : Interorganisational context	152	315
3 : Performing on the day	552	999
4 : Planning up to the day	510	956
5 : Following up	33	155
6 : Researcher involvement	86	253

Table 8: Cross sectional coding NVivo query across two projects vs. first stage organising nodes

In the early stages of analysis, the first purpose 'creating ethnographic narrative' was predominant rather than a focus on conceptual insights. At this stage, the first manner of analysis was what Woolf and Silver (2018) deem 'a superficial use of NVivo'. This involved using built-in capabilities of software in a straightforward manner. I performed the preliminary coding (stage 3.1) on textual data within the individual events and additionally across projects in a relatively non-normative manner (see illustrated example box below). The guiding sense behind the initial coding was selecting interesting data points and to combine fragments of data that could fit together. Chenail (2012b) suggests that such work - finding and comparing meaningful units within your data - is the building block of qualitative research analysis. At this stage, no specific theory was used to inform coding (at least consciously). The mutual knowledge gained from my ethnographic immersion guided the effort to identify meaningful similarities and differences. In advocating a method assemblage, Law (2004) suggests that this is a primary sense built through immersion and distance with your ethnographic data; analysis simply acts as a means to block out certain realities and to focus on resonance between in-here and out-there through what seems rich and deeply meaningful in a particular context.

The nodes were periodically cleaned and merged/deleted, as necessary. I have kept 1) a log of detailed nodes, 2) node lists and 3) dated codebook whenever significant merging/cleaning was performed in NVivo to track changes made to the nodes. Consistent with the wider methodological stance, the *why* for these analytical tasks has been discovered through their *doing* rather than being guided through pre-set research questions or an analysis strategy. For example, the play around with various sets allowed me to see what combination of sets included the nodes most relevant for descriptions, while the task also maximised the interrelated links between the sets themselves (see Figure 10 and example of illustrated of coding).

This categorisation and playing around with visual connections in data points also helped partially determine what 'story' my findings could tell. For this, data analysis is treated like a metaphoric process (Chenail, 2012a) in which some stories necessarily get told or untold. For example, as seen in the below Figure 10 the selection of three sets: *planning up to the day, performing on the day* and *following up*, which could be grouped together under the set *functioning of the project* allowed me to capture a vast number of nodes that I deemed meaningful and relevant for the day-to-day operations of the projects. Multiple such sets and links were possible, however the selection of these three peculiar sets and compiling them under one set allowed for a peculiar combination of nodes – leading to a peculiar way of telling the story – such that it resonated with my experience of immersion in the field. As Hammersley (1990, 1995) notes, such choices cannot examined for an intrinsic *why* but rather assessed against the purpose they serve, which in itself is built through the description recursively.

Manner of NVivo use – illustrated example

During the stage one (collecting and transcribing) and two (organising data in various ways) of analysis, the data was read in NVivo multiple times. A fragment of data *"It was Ellie's idea to have a concert as a fundraiser. It was a group of six of us at the first meeting. We all had lots of different ideas…"* was intuitively coded into the following nodes: *getting and shaping the idea, imagining futures, decision making*. Rather than a theoretical underpinning, the guiding questions used for coding at this point were - what does this data fragment describe? what does it fit together with? and how and why is this important? Such common-sensical questions were necessary for me to be able to write the ethnographic narrative as I have detailed in sections 4.1.2 to 4.1.7 or 4.2.2 to 4.2.7. The intuitive nodes created in this manner were periodically checked and cleaned to make sure that what I had categorised within then as meaningful was consistent over time. This re-reading and re-coding sometimes led to the changing of the names of original nodes. The whole process helped me organise the data better for retrieval albeit with a lot of trial and error in the early stages. NVivo sets were used to join nodes together. This was purposefully non-hierarchical. For example, the nodes - *getting & shaping the idea*, *changed plans*, *imagining future,* and *differences in the same project*, which included the fragment of the data above, were combined into a set labelled 'Origins and development' of projects. The data fragment above helped me to compile a narrative of how various ideas for the project were proposed, which ones were selected and how. Reading of the data fragments that were compiled under a particular set, or its intersection (through query function in NVivo) was used to create and refine my writings of the findings section 'Origins and development' (see section 4.1.2). This write up was then disseminated to my supervisors and research informants. Their comments were used as a basis for verification as well as necessary modification.

In a much further stage of analysis, relating to the second purpose – uncovering conceptual insight, the same data fragment was interpreted as meaningful in a different way. I noticed that the nodes that it was part of – *decision making* and *differences in the same project* – contained many contradictory accounts. There were other data fragments that contrasted against the organic idea generation/decision making that this particular fragment indicated. Using the concept of structure of domination from structuration theory these contradictions were organised as 'contradictions surrounding consensus building'. To do this, I regrouped the nodes/data fragments into two NVivo sets of *prudent outlook* and *communal outlook,* which were further grouped under the NVivo set *consensus building.* I have written these up as a theme in my interpretation chapter (section 5.2). I used this to support my interpretation that sometimes the decision making was spontaneous, democratic, and organic (see Table 13), data fragments in the opposing sets helped me support the claim that other times, it was anything but. The query function in NVivo was used to ascertain that there were enough fragments in the sets that I had put together as contradictory to one another.

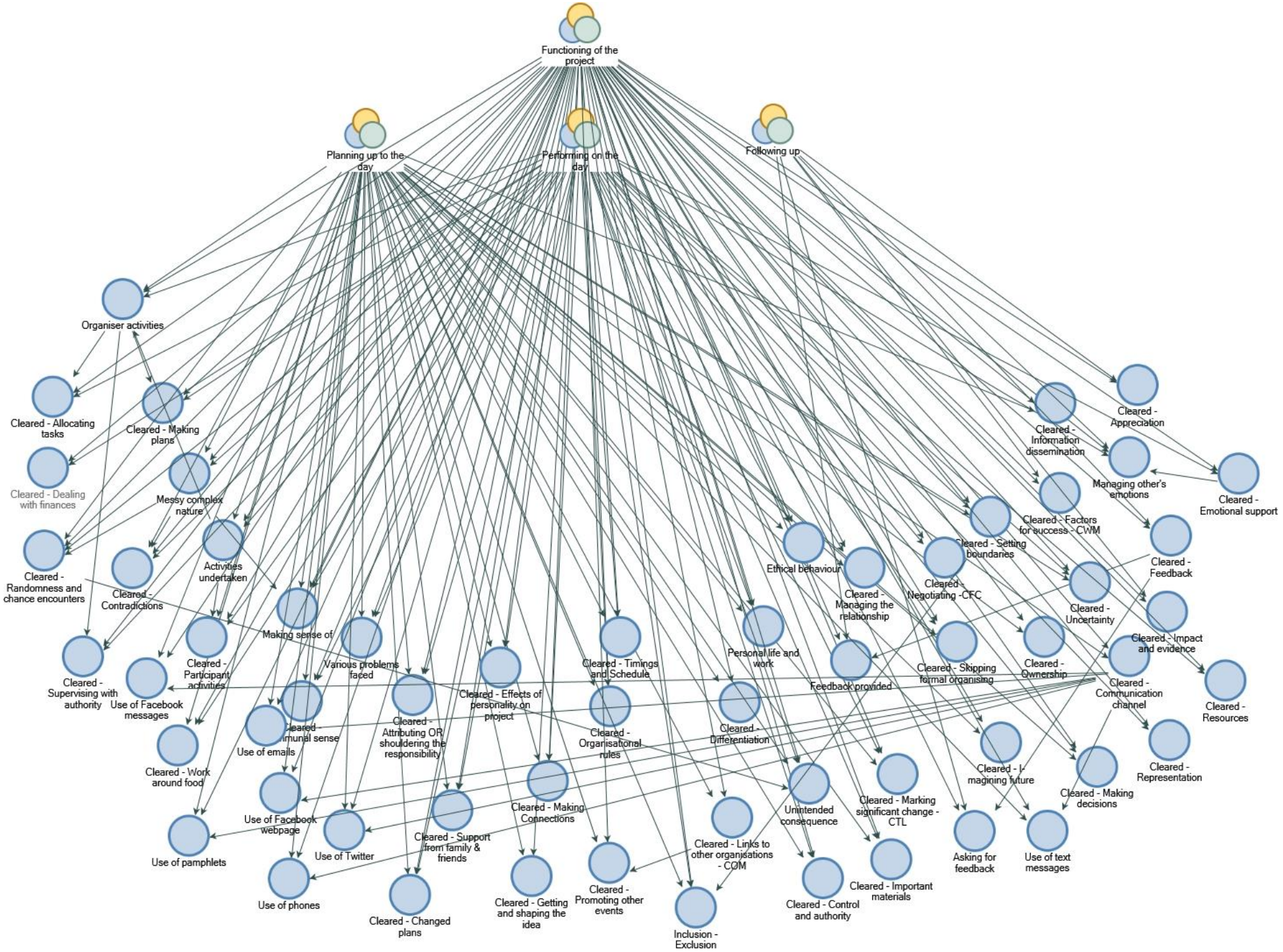


Figure 10: Nvivo generated project map for section 4.1.4 and 4.2.4 of findings

3.5.2.2 Latter stages of analysis (stages 3, 4 and 5)

Latter stages of analysis relied less on an inductive approach as the insights generated were progressively incorporated into a theoretical argument. The early stages of analysis fulfilled their purpose by allowing me to create an ethnographic narrative (Presentation of findings - Chapter 4), whereas the later stages of analysis allowed construction of conceptual insights (Interpretation of findings – Chapter 5). The core analytical task still consisted of identifying meaningful chunks of data and grouping them together, however, the grouping was now performed in a different manner – exclusively with the use of NVivo sets to illustrate complex interconnections. Most nodes that were already created in the early stages of analysis were used in their existing form but combined in different NVivo sets. Contradictions within the data were identified as an element that could lead to novel theoretical insights. Hence, I grouped the nodes which contained these contradictions separately under different NVivo sets and allocated these sets with specific descriptors (for example: communal outlook vs prudent outlook/ tireless heroes vs biased guardians). In this stage, theory had a significant impact on my action of combining nodes together as well as on the selection process through which sets were presented and discussed. However, theoretical relevance itself has been iteratively reshaped through analysis.

In terms of determining theoretical relevance, a peculiar memory of a supervisor meeting flags. Due to a year already spent in shaping the project in my earlier degree, I had developed my fieldwork considerably. At the time, anyone who was unfortunate enough to be in my company would be subjected to hours of discussion about intriguing organising practices I was seeing in my fieldwork. In the supervisory meeting I kept describing, what can now be termed as my initial empirical findings. After hearing me go on and on, my supervisors recommended me to look up structuration theory. After the meeting ended, in my unending ignorance, I asked one of my supervisors to spell the authors name and to give me further insights on reading. Fortunately, one of the senior lecturers at the university (who ended up as my examiner for probation) was eavesdropping on this conversation and came out to hand me a book. Thence started a reading journey in which, at last, I found the words to speak the language that was already in my head, granting some grounding, however shifting, to perform the theorising. The worn pages of these books bear witness to the endless and consuming engagement that was equally rewarding at a personal level as it was necessary for my research. It is not an understatement to say that a lot of such 'theory' was introduced to me through serendipitous conversations with university colleagues, conference conveners, attendees and presenters, my supervisors and even my research informants. Van Maneen adequately sums up the relation of theory with ethnographic research: "We read, listen, converse with others, ruminate about different but attractive concepts and theories, try them out, judge them in accordance to what is currently going on in our respective fields, and then attempt to put them to use in the context of the work we are doing. This usually requires tinkering with them ever so slightly to make for an arguable fit between theory and data. Some work for us, some don't, and we move on. In practice, theory choices (the rabbits we pull out of our hats) rest as much on taste as on fit" (2010 p. 223).

The concepts of structures of signification, domination and legitimisation from structuration theory influenced my grouping of data into higher level sets of meaning making, consensus building and ethicality, respectively. However, at the same time, my identification of the inherent contradictions within the data at the level of interpersonal behaviour led me to adopt structuration theory as a useful vehicle of sensemaking. Neither came first but both fit together well over time; the data and theory informed each other cyclically and continually.

Once the write up of the findings was underway, the emerging insights were pulled further together through the use of structuration theory. I have organised my interpretations using the core concepts

of structuration as they allow a specific perspective for how the collaborative work is performed. My data were used as examples to show a *how* of the unstructured collaborative work that was being performed, explained using the language of structuration theory. The particular *how* that I discovered led to me conceptualise in what way different concepts of the theory, such as signification, legitimisation and domination were interacting *in situ*. This particular interaction, and the variants of *how* are the aspects that I have been able to theorise further about. During this stage, I used a narrative literature review to position my emergent argument against the theoretical insights in the existing research work. The conceptualisation of '*human* work of collaboration' was similarly a result of continuous back and forth between my interpretive argument and the current discussions within wider research that the concept could be positioned against and in the support of.

Dissemination and feedback as analytical process

As the ethnographic narratives and conceptual insights (empirical at first and later, theoretical) were shaped, they were disseminated to and discussed with my key informants and research supervisors. Their suggestions, feedback and corrections were incorporated into the analytical exercise (stage 4.3 and 5.2) to rebuild a nuanced polyphonic picture. Furthermore, my emerging insights have been also disseminated and discussed as papers at The British Academy of Management Conference 2016, FBL Winter Research Festival 2016 and 2017 in the Open University, Voluntary Sector Studies Network day conference 2017, and 9th and 10th International Process Symposium 2017 and 2018, 11th International Critical Management Studies Conference, and 14th Annual Ethnography Symposium 2019. Correspondingly, the feedback from these discussions was incorporated within my analysis process. Having detailed the analysis purposes and tasks, the last section of this chapters summarises my methodological considerations.

3.6 Concluding methodological considerations

A quotation from Heraclitus (approx. 500 BC) that appears in Plato's Cratylus

"τὰ πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει" καὶ "δὶς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης"

Everything changes, and nothing remains still, and you cannot step twice into the same river. For once you step into a river, it is not the same river, nor do you remain the same person.

To say that through the process of writing this thesis I have become a different researcher, and by extension a different person, is not an understatement. The absolute core assumptions of what I deem the world to be made up of, how these parts interact as well as the part I play in these interactions have drastically changed as I engaged with, theorised about, and reflected upon how these processes were happening for the phenomenon that I chose to study. The methodological stance that I have adopted is best described as a 'processual structurationist ethnography' grounded in a relational ontology and a realist epistemology. Using the research layers model (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012), the methodological choices that I have described in the chapter thus far are summarised in Table 9. I shall review these briefly below.

Research layers based on Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012)		
Ontology	Relational	I differentiate theory of knowledge (epistemology) from theory of being (ontology), in doing so, the distinguishing aspect between subject-object is assumed to be their relation rather than substance. Relation is given ontic primacy – a being is always a *being-in-relation* and continually *becoming*. In terms of this research, my ontological assumptions imply an emphasis on flux, change, open-endedness, close attention to agency and a clear focus on organis**ing** rather than organisation.
Epistemology	Realist	I assume that there exists a reality, independent of its human conception direct access to which is limited. Knowledge can only be generated in *relation* to this reality as human agency is historically and materially bounded within it. Generating knowledge of the social world hence requires an understanding of the social situation, going beyond the observable and investigating the mechanisms behind events. Analytical access (always partial) to these *real* mechanisms is possible through theory. Theoretical focus is on ex-post explanations uncovering these mechanisms – explanations of *how* of unfolding of relationships – and has little predictive power.
Axiology	Agent-relative	Following onto-epistemic assumptions, I see values, ethics, and aesthetics as a product of a situated agent interacting with the social world, which itself is a product of agential activity. An independent or objective perspective of values (i.e., what counts as important even for research) separated from time and context is not possible.
Theoretical underpinnings	Structurationist	Agency-structure is dually constituted through the process of structuration. Structures are conceptualised as not only constraining but also enabling. Possible explanations of underlying processes of structuration in the form of answers to the question 'how' are offered using the theory of structuration.
Research approach	Abductive	In my analysis, there was continuous back and forth between my empirical data and concepts used to analyse/comprehend the data. Theoretical concepts aided the analysis and, in turn, were reaffirmed through my analysis.
Research strategy	Ethnography	I followed 'being there' as the core requirement of ethnographic research – this implied me producing informative documentary narratives through 'living with and living like' those that the I wished to know better through research. Accordingly, I immersed myself in informal unstructured collaborative projects in various capacities as an insider.
Time horizon	Short longitudinal	21 months of focused but extensive fieldwork was conducted between May 2016 – January 2018. This involved attending multiple iterations of the two discussed projects.
Method	Qualitative	Research focused on 1) generating a deeper understanding through conversations, interactions, observations, symbols, artefacts and 2) thick descriptions as is appropriate for answering the questions how and why.
Procedure	Insider participant	I participated in multiple roles (volunteer, organiser, researcher etc.) towards the pre-event organising, day-to-day work and follow up of collaborative projects and consciously built deeper access to become an insider.
Data collection	Multi-modal	I recorded detailed event reflections, conducted unstructured/semi-structured interviews and collected brochures, pamphlets, photos, videos, social media posts, and logs of emails and messages.
Data analysis	Thematic	Using NVivo, I constructed themes and used set functionality for 1) creating ethnographic narrative and 2) generating conceptual insights using structurationist theory, and more specifically, analysis of strategic conduct. Positioning was later used as a form of analytical generalisation to extend interpretations to other contexts

Table 9: Summary of methodological choices

Following a relational ontology, I assume that the relation between subject-object takes primacy over either separately; a being is always a *being-in-relation* and continually *becoming*. Specifically, theory of knowledge (epistemology) is to be distinguished from theory of being (ontology). The focus of research is to be shifted to organis**ing** (Weick, 1995; Weick and Quinn, 1999) rather than organisation and a close attention to the *flux* and the agency is required to observe and construct insights that can expand knowledge. Such knowledge can only be generated in relation to an external reality (which exists independent of its human conception) as the human agency is necessarily historically and materially bounded within it (Giddens, 1984, 2010). For my research, this boundedness implies that values, ethics, and aesthetics are a product of a situated agent interacting with the social world (Bruni, 2006; Van Maanen, 2010; Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016), which in itself is a product of agential activity. An independent/objective perspective of values, i.e., what counts as important (including for research), separated from time and context, is not possible. Consequently, research is to be performed by creating a deep understanding of a particular social situation, going beyond the observable, and investigating the core mechanisms behind life events. Analytical access (always in part) to these *real* mechanisms is possible through theory. But theory, described thus, has specific advantages and drawbacks due to its peculiar and concise focus. Theoretical functions are fulfilled through *post hoc* explanations uncovering the underlying mechanisms, explanations of 'how' of unfolding of relationships, but they have little predictive power.

Grounded in these assumptions of what research can achieve, the phenomenon I explore is the informal, unstructured collaborative projects. The topic itself was shaped and reshaped through my research practice; the factors that justified continuing ahead with research work were 1) my successful access efforts which created deep immersion, 2) generation of rich valuable data and 3) an optimistic assumption of developing insights, which was based on the peculiar nature of the phenomenon. While access was relatively easy to obtain it was simultaneously fraught with multiple moral, social, political, and ethical considerations. I never managed to completely resolve these dilemmas, but their detailed reflexive uncovering has complemented my analytical positioning. I immersed myself as an insider in multiple unstructured collaborative projects for over 21 months of extensive fieldwork. Qualitative data was collected through reflections, semi-structured interviews, photos, videos, and a systematic record of social media posts and emails. Two of these projects are explored in-depth in the thesis: Share fair and Rock4Refugees

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I determined that my research could contribute possible explanations of *how* of the day-to-day work that was being performed in informal collaborative projects. Such day-to-day work clearly exemplified the peculiar nature of the phenomenon that originally attracted my interest and held my research attention throughout. At this stage, the analytical focus was directed to interpersonal interactions that shaped the day-to-day collaborative work. I used structuration theory as a basis to ground the *general* aspects of human interactions and observed the *particular* phenomenon through that lens. The task was then to analyse the *particular* (informal collaborative work) as an integral part of the *general* (human interaction in its abstract form) and situate my understanding of it and any novel insights within a theoretical context (literature surrounding collaboration) iteratively.

Simultaneously, my engagement with the literature reaffirmed my attention towards the day-to-day work and interpersonal interactions. Clarifying my analytical focus and the use of structuration helped me perform the later stages of analysis, which identified deep contradictions within the data. Concurrently, the collaboration literature reaffirmed dialectics to be a less explored perspective that had potential for theoretical contributions. And further, ethnography has been suggested as an appropriate means to make that contribution, which assured me that my efforts were on the right track.

> *"a dialectical perspective beckons the researcher to uncover the tensions at work and to explore how such tensions help shape an alliance trajectory. Her focus would be squarely on the actors involved—their interests, mindsets, strategies, loyalties, prejudices, and preferences. How do actors make sense of the alliance as it unfolds? What underlying social structures inform their conduct? How do they respond to the consequences of their interactions, whether intended or unintended? While ethnography is time consuming and access to sites difficult […] it may well be a price worth paying for researchers genuinely interested in describing and understanding what is (prior to speculating on) and prescribing what should be" (de Rond and Bouchikhi, 2004 p.67).*

This interest, to describe and understand what is, led to two reasons for which I have analysed the data: 1) for creating an ethnographic narrative and 2) for constructing and uncovering conceptual insights. The analysis was thematic; I used NVivo to organise my data in groups and establish relationships between fragments that are beyond hierarchical. Through the iterative process of immersion, analysis and reading I managed to get clarity around a key question that I have ended up asking and answering through my research work: 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' Using analytical generalisation, the contextual answer that I put forth is extended further via the concept *human* work of collaboration.

In putting this answer forth, this research intends to uncover and re-construct an organising culture that I found remarkably unique. For that I immersed myself inside this chaotic, haphazardly 'way of doing things' while attempting to systematically make sense of it. This tension, in trying to sense disorder in an orderly fashion, pulled me in many directions, and not unlike my research informants, who muddled through their organising of collaborative projects, I had to muddle through my research which attempted to understand collaborative organising. Over time, I came to the realisation that chaos persisted not despite my efforts but also because of them; randomness was as much an inherent part of the picture as sense, reason and logic were. I want to conclude this chapter with a story from one of my informants, who worked as an academic before joining the social action scene, and when discussing my research work, often gave me extremely useful insights. While the discussing issues I was facing with my methodological approach, she recalled a book that had left an impression upon her.

"The two chapters that really stuck in my head, and that I found really brilliant were about the scientific process. They were about how you think that things happen in a methodical, rigorous way because that's how we present ourselves but that actually they don't. The author says, 'So, I'm going to give the journal paper which gives you the methodology, et cetera, in terms of what we admitted to, the abstract and then the method and blah, blah, blah', and then he wrote, 'and then I'm going to tell you what really happened and how some of the decisions were made.' Because someone was going through a bit of a messy divorce and then they had to drop out and then they had to get somebody else. The person who came in had this idea, which meant that part of the lab got a bit messy and things got moved around. Some data got lost, but this other data got found, this got put together. It's kind of like… it's real life, which all culminated in the findings; both through mishap and accident and serendipity. But that doesn't ever get written into the papers. So that taught me that even what you think is ordered, physics and chemists and all the rest of it, that they've got methodical stuff nailed. Actually, no they haven't; no one has! …because they're still human beings and they're still fundamentally driven by subjective stuff. They just don't acknowledge it. At least us wifty wafty softy science types actually have the balls to say, 'Well, do you know what? It was a bit of a mess."

And indeed, her words give me the courage to admit, it was a bit of a mess.

4 Presentation of findings

When human beings get into collaborative patterns of action, whether it be teams or communities of interest, or networks — they all have one thing in common: they contain individuals who share the same stories. It is the shared stories that enable the members of the collectivity to understand each other, their motivations, the habits, the expectations, the fears, the dreams, and this understanding enables the members of the group to anticipate each other's actions and intentions, to start to move in unison and harmony.

- Steve Denning

Within this chapter I present ethnographic narrative of the informal unstructured collaborations that I observed and shaped through my research work. The chapter has a threefold aim: to present an ethnographic account that will 1) answer some basic questions regarding informal collaborative projects: who, where, what, and how, 2) contribute to an empirical account in form of two cases towards an already considerable literature on collaborative projects and 3) form a basis that anchors my analytical insights (as suggested by Hammersley, 1990; Van Maanen, 2010) for the interpretations and the discussion chapters to follow next. This account is non-normative and relatively theory neutral, by which I mean that the analysis that has been used to create this narrative is not consciously influenced by a key theory/perspective but simply intends to convey a lived experience. While doing so, I have used personal judgment to attribute some quotes directly to the informants but have presented others without an indication of authorship. I have deemed this necessary to protect individuals whose action may seem contrary or can be considered rule-breaking (which I will show is equally necessary). At its core, my ethnographic account offers a descriptive answer to the core research question: 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' The presentation of the two cases has been structured as below:

Researcher involvement – I begin with a brief account of how I came across the project, got involved with them and the roles that I performed. The section draws on data organised and coded in NVivo under the nodes *me in there, informed consent, access efforts* and *managing the relationships.* [Questions answered: How did I get to know about the project? How was I involved in the organising? What impact did my involvement have?]

Origins and development – This section deliberates on how the project came about, the original ideas, the process of their development and any major changes to the nature of the projects. For this, the data classified within the nodes *getting & shaping the idea*, *changed plans*, *imagining future,* and *differences in the same project* have helped shape the description. Pamphlets, brochures, and other documents as well as the photographs taken at the events are used to supplement the write up. [Questions answered: Where did the idea for the project come from? How did the project initiate/develop? What were the major changes and the causes for them? At the end of research what stage were the projects in?]

Inter-organisational context/involvement – This section focuses on the multiple organisational contexts that the project was developed within and continued under. The coding under the node *links to other organisations/projects* has been used to create the NVivo maps that exhibit interorganisational context. Data coded under the nodes *marketing and advertising, representation,*

managing the relationship and *messy complex nature* are used to complement this description. [Questions answered: Which organisations/group of individuals were involved in the project? In what capacity? For what duration? What was the nature of their involvement?]

Functioning of the project – This section forms the core of my data presentation and focuses on the day-to-day work performed by the organisers. This is further divided into 1) planning up to the day 2) performing on the day and 3) following up. Sets within NVivo that used the same titles as above have been used to compile the description in this section. The chosen NVivo sets combined a majority of the nodes (see Figure 10) and were selected on the basis of how much of the relevant information was coded under the nodes that they combined. [Question answered: how did the day-to-day organising of collaborative work take place in terms of finances, marketing and advertisement, documentation, labour, materials, health, and safety, managing the communal sense etc.?]

Tales of the projects – This section describes some unique instances from the data coded under a node *interesting interactions.* These data fragments are representative of the essence of collaborative work I observed. I deemed that breaking these down would actually strip them of the meaning that they attributed to the project when understood as an allegory. I have chosen to present these tales as they are with only a small line or context preceding each one. The context is provided to position them for the reader but otherwise, they are purposefully left open ended. Rather than answering any questions these tales are intended to raise some questions and to invoke further curiosity.

4.1 Rock4Refugees: 'Guildford People to People' and BoilerRoom

4.1.1 Researcher involvement

While collecting the data for a scoping community event (SOUP) in Guildford, Rock4Refugees was pointed out to me as a connected initiative. It is customary for the past SOUP funding recipients to attend the next event and speak about how they have spent the funds. I first met Tom, a Rock4Refugees organiser, when he came to speak at the SOUP event on 16th June 2016 about how the funding from a previous iteration of SOUP had helped shape Rock4Refguees 2016. At a later date, to get to know the initiative better, I had a semi-structured interview with him and registered interest in volunteering for the future events. This led to a participation in Rave4Refugees on 4th of February 2017 and helping out at the box office. For the next event, Rock4Refugees 2017, I was invited to join the organiser meetings and to became part of the core organiser group. The first meeting that I attended was on 15th of February (see Image 8), 10.5 weeks before the event. Afterwards, participation was in form of weekly meetings as well as continuous conversations on the Facebook groups. I also participated in the actual events in multiple roles, primarily functioning as an artist liaison. After Rock4Refugees 2017, a number of unstructured conversations/interviews were conducted with the core organisers. Within the next event, Rave4Refugees on 24th November, my involvement was limited to performing promotion over social media. In the Rock4Refugees 2018, participation was in social media discussions pre-event as well as assistance on the day through box office work. Reduced involvement has continued since then over social media platforms in supporting the wider cause.

4.1.2 Origins and development

Guildford People to People (GP2P) is a non-political, grassroots, community organisation supplying humanitarian aid to refugees in Calais, Dunkirk and across Europe. They are a non-registered entity that simply operates as a spontaneous network of like-minded people who care about a common social cause: resolution of refugee crises. Christina Manning started this initiative with a clothing collection and then set up a Facebook group, which has now developed into a large informal network. The scope of a particular activity determines the involved participants, and the number of active members is difficult to pin down.

"It is hard to say. I know about 10 people who have been in the Calais jungle, obviously just this year, more than one week. And I know another 5 or 6 that have been there at least once. On our collection days, we normally get about 10 to 15 people helping out on the day and about 50 people dropping off the stuff each time. Our reach is quite wide. I have personally met about 300 to 400 people through doing this stuff, who've gotten heavily involved."

The Facebook group boasts 1500+ members. Since their inception, GP2P have done a number of collection days, carried out regular aid distribution trips for the donated food and other items and have organised events such as the RefuTea, Rave4Refugees and Rock4Refugees. And yet, the organisation does not have a formal structure or a constitution, nor do they have any plans to form one. Rather GP2P are making a conscious effort to involve more people and advise them that it is a community and people owned initiative. In 2015, some members from GP2P got in touch with BoilerRoom, a Community Interest Company (CIC) in Guildford, for developing Rock4Refugees, and then built the relationship further through participation in the SOUP event in April 2016. The idea for the event, Rock4Refugees, was developed when one of the members of GP2P suggested holding a one-day fundraiser that would involve 8-10 performances from local bands complemented by various stalls (food, entertainment, etc.).

"It was Ellie's idea to have a concert as a fundraiser. And it was a group of six of us at the first meeting. We all had lots of different ideas ...so, some people wanted this sort of music others wanted other sorts. We had ten different plans for different kinds of events and then we had a clothing stall and a cake stall in the back garden in BoilerRoom. We had face painting, we had a magician who came down and did magic tricks for the kids as well... "

A small-scale version of the fundraising event, catering more exclusively to younger audience, Rave4Refugees, was organised which involved 2-4 bands over an evening and a focus on fundraising only through music rather than stalls and other activities. To accommodate a different demographic group that may not necessarily be interested in music events, event like RefuTea, which entail tea mornings in a nearby church and bake sells or food collection, have also been held. Through efforts such as these, GP2P have managed to raise funds of over 10K to date. And yet, participants do not always know what their efforts are immediately directed towards.

When we had the Rock4Refugees, we held back on the cause that we were appealing the money for the first month because everything changes. And yeah, so for the first month we said that, yes, we're going to hold it, but after that month we started looking for the issues where... and all the reports of the children going missing came up. So yeah, we started looking up people trafficking, so we helped the stop trafficking charity and that's when we decided to support one of the schools down there as well. So, the sort of things that we know that will be there in a month and if we know something like this then we know that yes, we can give money for this and that it will be effective.

The flexibility from not having a definitive formal organisational structure allows R4R to stay responsive in such a manner. In last three years the project has supported over fourteen different grassroot groups, informal networks, and charity organisations through their fundraising. The smaller coordinated efforts such as the clothing collections are continuous and ongoing. They intend to continue the successful past events and at the end of the data collection period had already booked multiple venues for events in the forthcoming year. The R4R Facebook page lists the entity as non-profit organisation with below description (see Image 2).

Rock4Refugees: The story so far...

ROCK 4 REFUGEES · SUNDAY, JANUARY 13, 2019

Back in 2015 at the height of the biggest migration since WW2, it was realised that under such transient conditions, rather than send aid items, cash was much more useful to aid workers on the ground. Founder Ellie had 'a little idea' to put on a fundraising party and the seeds of Rock4Refugees were sown.

2 years, 3 festivals, 2 raves, 2 'payback' parties, a photo exhibition, 24 bands, 28 DJ's, 2 MC's 5 face painters, 2 poets, a movie, 6 public speakers, 100 raffle prizes, a graffiti wall, 40 falafels, 37 glitter beards and countless cakes later...

To date, Rock4Refugees has raised over £10,000 for our nominated causes. Sadly, we're still going strong. There are still people who need help. Rock4Refugees continues to support refugees everywhere, both in the UK and abroad, and believes that everyone deserves somewhere safe to call home.

Image 2: Origin story for Rock4Refugees

4.1.3 Inter-organisational context/involvement

The project operates within a rich and dynamic representational context. As there is no formal structure, the participating members make heavy use of their roles within other organisations. Many of the core organisers are self-employed or affiliated with organisations that are equally enthusiastic about supporting the causes that GP2P cares about, and act as organisational representative. Further, the contacts from such members come in handy when securing backing of local businesses, particularly towards fundraising. As an example, a non-exhaustive list of the companies that have helped organising of Rock4Refugees 2016 is presented below in Table 10

Company name	Contribution towards Rock4Refugees and GP2P
Kendalls Hire	Provided discounted van hire to carry the donations to Calais
KaneFM	Local community non-profit radio station - provided publicity
Eagle Radio	Commercial radio station - supported by generating publicity
Bishopmove	Removal firm which has provided boxes for collecting donations
Guildford Borough Council	Allowed the use of their premises for clothing collections and storage
The Toy Box, Godalming	Offered a train set for children to play with at the Rock4Refugees event and another (slightly smaller) one as a raffle prize
Glitter Aid	Set up a face painting stall, proceeds donated to charity
Guildford Sports Centre	Agreed to auction 3 swimming lessons and an ice-skating session
Anvertons	Local music shop that provided sound equipment
G-Live	Live venue in Guildford which provided 2 event tickets as a raffle prize
Micro Scooters	Donated 250 rucksacks; each of these was filled with a complete outfit plus toiletries by pupils at a local school.

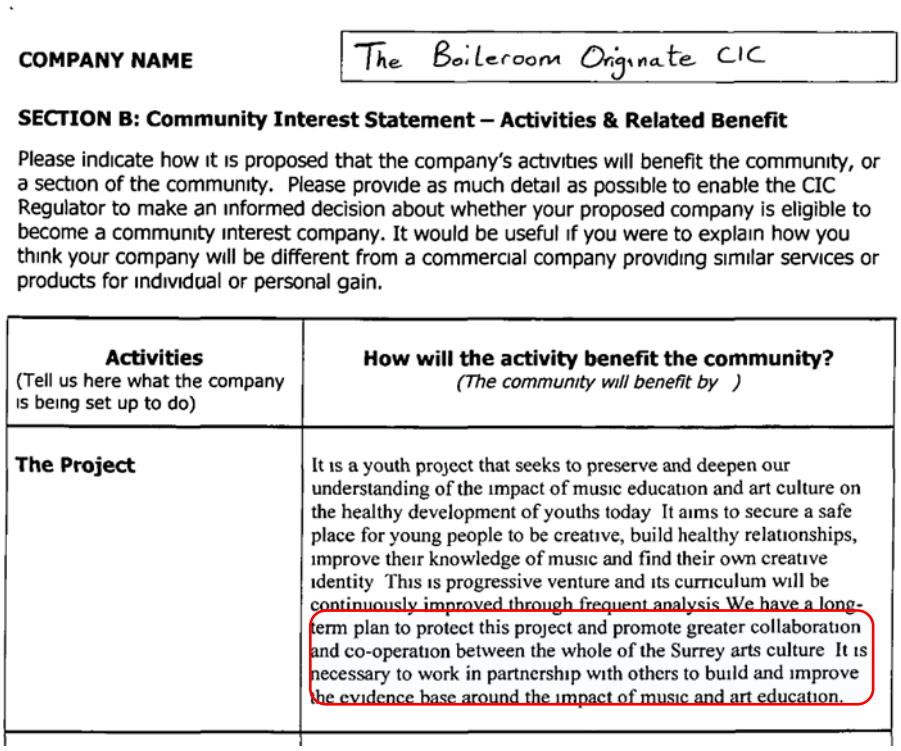
Table 10: List of companies that have helped Guildford People to People

Cassey, a GP2P member and a core organiser for many of GP2P fundraising events, goes on to say, *"There are, of course, many many other organisations who have helped us - too many to mention ...".* One of the most interesting aspects of this is that the relationships, which were primarily developed through events, are not incidental but are built consciously. This is best illustrated through an

example: the relationship developed between BoilerRoom, a CIC in Guildford that has supported fundraising events of GP2P. All the Rave4Refugees (organised bi-annually) and Rock4Refugees (organised annually) events were hosted at the BoilerRoom venue and the support of the organisation is duly acknowledged by the members of GP2P

"Some of us have done some event like that but nothing on that scale, nothing of that size, with that many bands. So, the Boileroom's input was key, they were giving us advice on what we could expect, what their resources are, what we will need to provide ourselves and sort of helping with logistics on the day."

BoilerRoom representative Lydia originally suggested that GP2P apply for the micro funding through SOUP event that the CIC organises. GP2P members, in turn, have supported various initiatives that the BoilerRoom hosts. Tom, a core organiser from GP2P, took part in the "What's your activism": a discussion series run by BoilerRoom to raise awareness of various social issues. GP2P, in collaboration with BoilerRoom and The Gallery Cafe, organised a film screening in September 2016 that consisted of a photo exhibition and display of the written journal of a photographer describing his life in the refugee camps. This event coincided with Boileroom's birthday and funds were raised for three different campaign organisations. A further event, at a different location, was organised to thank the participants for their involvement in the above efforts, which to another fundraiser and networking. It is also interesting to note that many of the companies that have been mentioned in the Table 10 also come up in the discussion with BoilerRoom. Toni, the community arts coordinator at BoilerRoom, spoke about the companies that she works with on a day-to-day basis and that included G-Live, Guildford Borough Council, Anvertons, Kane FM and Eagle Radio. BoilerRoom works with these companies regularly to keep up with the industry and to facilitate their Youth Music Project: the core reason for CIC initiative (See Image 3). The CIC statement explicitly mentions 'greater collaboration and co-operation between the whole of the Surrey Arts Culture'.



COMPANY NAME The Boileroom Originate CIC

SECTION B: Community Interest Statement – Activities & Related Benefit

Please indicate how it is proposed that the company's activities will benefit the community, or a section of the community. Please provide as much detail as possible to enable the CIC Regulator to make an informed decision about whether your proposed company is eligible to become a community interest company. It would be useful if you were to explain how you think your company will be different from a commercial company providing similar services or products for individual or personal gain.

Activities (Tell us here what the company is being set up to do)	**How will the activity benefit the community?** *(The community will benefit by)*
The Project	It is a youth project that seeks to preserve and deepen our understanding of the impact of music education and art culture on the healthy development of youths today It aims to secure a safe place for young people to be creative, build healthy relationships, improve their knowledge of music and find their own creative identity This is progressive venture and its curriculum will be continuously improved through frequent analysis We have a long-term plan to protect this project and promote greater collaboration and co-operation between the whole of the Surrey arts culture It is necessary to work in partnership with others to build and improve the evidence base around the impact of music and art education.

Image 3: Extract from Companies House registration for BoilerRoom

So, the fundraising events organised by GP2P are not only able to strengthen the bond between the key participant organisations but are also able to create many connections that are being used in a

wider context. Another example of the messy interorganisational context is through the involvement of Dorking Refugee Support (DRS), an informal network similar to GP2P, which coordinates efforts between its members to house and integrate asylum seekers and refugees. DRS started when Constance Nash, a founding member of the group, started hosting a refugee in her house. Through her example, other people in the local community decided to follow suit. At one point these people decided to come together to support each other in their refugee housing activities. The support was mainly through sharing the know-how, offering moral support, mutual encouragement, and minor problem solving. The group tried formalising their efforts and set up a committee but soon realised that the flexible requirements of the task meant that the informal structure, where everyone takes part and supports each other but no one answers to anyone, works best for them. It was, however, useful to have an leader informally in-charge.

"What we realised is that we needed a big mama. The big mama doesn't need to open a book to know what to do in a situation or keep files and reports of what happened. But everything is in her head, when someone asks her a question, she knows."

Members of DRS have actively supported GP2P in the organising of various initiatives, offering information, advice, labour and connections – all the tasks a 'big mama' would gladly perform. The members of DRS come to speak at events, narrate stories of their experience, take part in the activities on the day and, in return, have benefitted from the funds raised by GP2P. Both groups are heavily enmeshed and nurture each other. However, as neither of the groups (GP2P or DRS) has a formal structure or a constitution it is hard to ascertain what representational hat the members are wearing when they participate. The people on the ground managing the day-to-day allow for and manage many such uncertainties, including representational, while continuing to coordinate between various entities.

Such 'managing' participants have often ended up creating other projects (at times, for completely different context) through the involvement in these initiatives, as they sense an evolving needs of various groups that they encounter. The support provided in many cases is strategic rather than operational.

"Some of the old friends… their children have now grown up and they are in secondary school. And they (children) don't go to these groups anymore and they (mothers) are isolated. And I knew these women because I worked with them since their children were young it was sad to see them losing that group spirit, because it wasn't ...they didn't have anyone to chat to and that usually really helps people. I looked at the venues in the area and set up a centre in the area where we would go there one day a week and I set up a group for women, just for women, and we had about 12 users. And they are now running it themselves and have been running it for the last two years. We introduced them to voluntary action. We helped set up a business plan for them. So, they now are funding their own money and are completely self-sufficient now. And their jobs are just how they want it."

It is also curious to see self-identification process of such initiative within a wider pollical and social context. These projects (GP2P and DRS here, and Share Fairs in next sections), while operating in a diverse interorganisational and social context, put explicit as well as implicit distance between themselves and political context of the issues that they are tackling. The implicit measures are perhaps more visible to an insider but even as a newcomer it is hard to miss the explicit stance. The DRS blog description provides some clarity (see below Image 4). The suggested one to one respectful discussion in a local café to gain other's perspective nicely befits the awareness surrounding such complex context. As the projects have grown the complex relationships that have been nurtured between these various groups and organisations have become further rooted within the initiatives. There is a group identity now assumed by the members and participating organisations which has become a key

element in facilitating continuation of their efforts. It should suffice to say that the representational boundaries are far from clear in the operation of the overall project.

Staying above politics

We know that the issue is an intensely political one on paper, and the source of a passionate debate in the media (including the social networks).

We want to concentrate on the most effective, compassionate and also most realistic local response to this crisis, and we can't do it well if we engage too often in political debate, as most of us are already stretched for time as it is. However, if you really wanted to share your opinions, we suggest we meet in person one morning at a local cafe and speak respectfully to one another, to try to see things from one another's perspective. Email us to leave your name and number in that case and we will call you back as soon as we can.

Thanks in advance for your understanding.

Image 4: Blog description from Dorking Refugee Support

Figure 11 below denotes the participating entities (groups, organisations) within Rock4Refugees 2017. This figure acts as a key indicator of inter-organisational context within one event organised. The colours indicate tentative roles undertaken as below.

Yellow – This indicates the core group of organisers (which were different for each event) and the organisations that did most of the planning and organising. This included actions such as venue acquisition, documentation, handling finances, contacting bands for performances and charities for distribution of raised funds, handling of funds and primary advertising and marketing efforts.

Blue – These were the bands that performed at the event and contributed towards the fundraising. The organisers, many affiliated with ACM Guildford, knew the bands either through personal connections, studies or were put in touch with the bands from the connections through BoilerRoom or other music event hosts. Many of the band members also participated as a core group of organisers.

Green – These were the voluntary organisations or the informal networks furthering the cause: resolution of refugee crises. These organisations were supported through the funds raised by GP2P. In turn, the organisations took an active part in the events by offering labour, setting up stalls, by giving talks and sharing the experiences and the information that would encourage further volunteer participation towards the cause.

Orange – Organisations indicated in orange made a significant contribution, financial or otherwise, towards the event. This was either in the form of key material things such as music equipment, or through volunteering or undertaking activities such as marketing.

Grey – These organisations provided items for raffle/auction for fundraising. In many instances, they also took part in marketing and advertising for the event, either through word of mouth, social media promotions or through allowing pamphlet distribution at their business place. However, this group was least involved in an organising capacity.

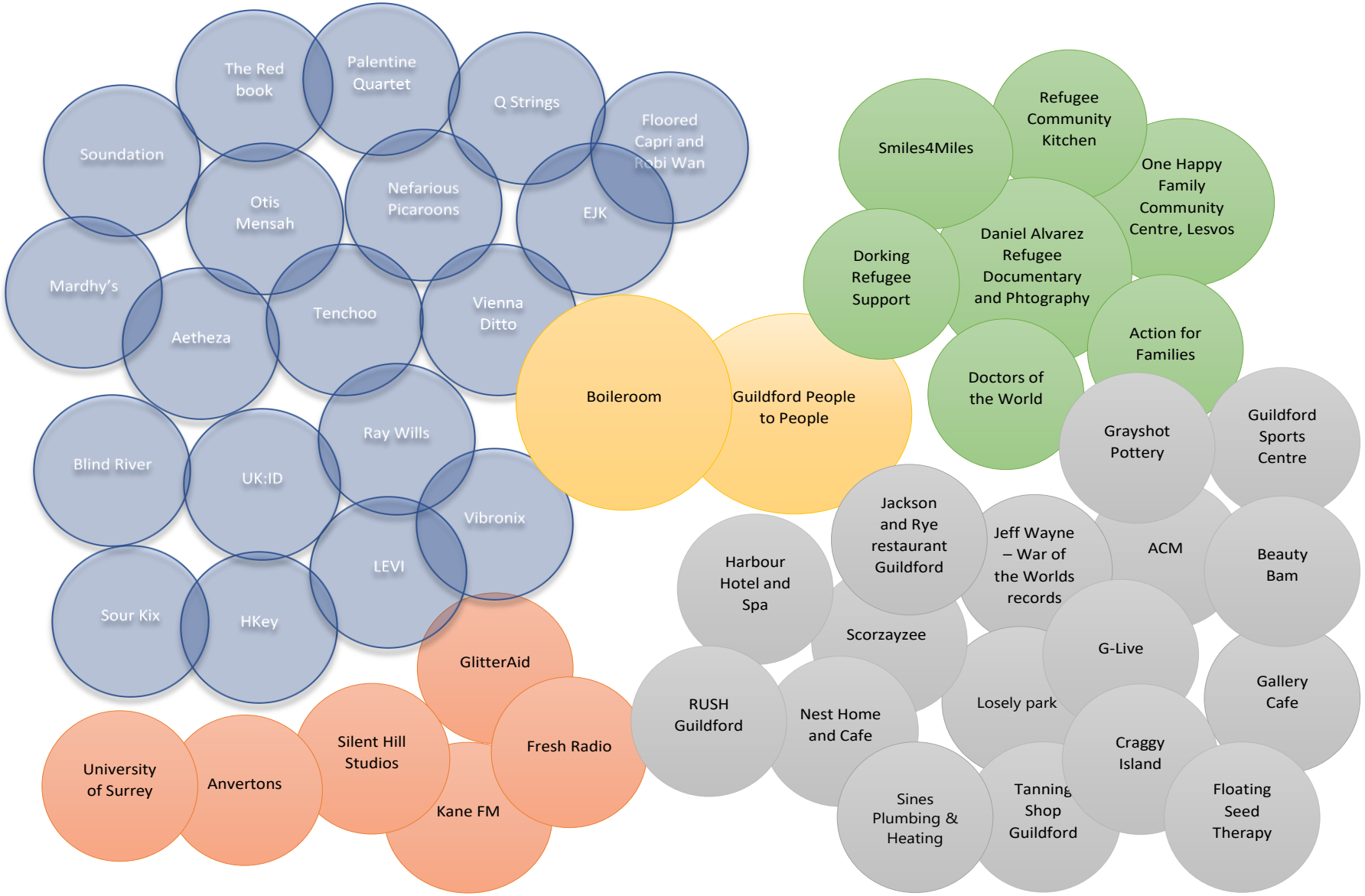


Figure 11: Inter-organisation context - Rock4Refugees

4.1.4 Functioning of the project

In the sections below, I shall try to elaborate how such seemingly chaotic initiative, which does not have a definite starting point, fixed organisers or, at times, even a specific goal/cause, operates, develops, and continues to grow. While I have named this overall section Rock4Refugees, with the underlying reason that my description primarily focuses on Rock4Refugees 2017 and anchors the description of the overall efforts through it, as discussed above, the participating entities are multiple and have not one common name for the project. Section 4.1.2 has outlined the multiple initiatives that were organised thus. The description here focuses on one type of fundraising event, Rock4Refugees, and the organising process that was followed. There are, of course, differences within the functioning of different events and activities, however, the account below is presented as a reasonable representation.

4.1.5 Planning up to the day

For planning up to the event day, core organising processes revolved around weekly face-to-face meetings between participants, where tasks were split, followed by continuous discussion over social media towards the updating of progress, celebration of successes and problem solving. For instance, the meetings to plan Rock4Refugees 2016 were held in BoilerRoom, in which, the BoilerRoom representatives, Lydia, J__ and Toni took part to shape the ideas further. At this point the members of GP2P did not have the necessary skills to organise an event of this scale. Hence, these two organisations worked very closely together to manage the event. For Rock4Refugees 2016 the organising process entailed approximately two and half months of planning. After that, there were number of ideas that were then possible to apply in different other contexts. Each *doing* of the event organising taught the members skills – some small some significant – that better facilitated *continuing*.

"I would say now that we've got quite a network, having done it, going forward is going to be a bit easier… So, you know, even our first few collections ...I mean the very first collection day we packed up everything in the black bin liners. And we realised that didn't last more than three changes of pair of hands when you're transferring stuff. We now know that we need cardboard boxes, so now we also know a mover's company that we phone up every time and they've got hold of a lot of cardboard boxes that we can use. The next Rock4Refugees all the contacts that we have is going to be very easy to get hold of people. And people who have worked with us, they have the exposure to help out, so it's going to be easier to work with them"

This difference is visible in different planning process that was followed a year later. For Rock4Refugees 2017 the organisers started the basic planning almost six months ahead, instead of the two and a half months for Rock4Refugees 2016. While the weekly meetings did span over approximately three months before the event, the band arrangements and the documentation were started much earlier than the event previous year. For Rock4Refugees 2018, the planning was underway as soon as Rock4Refugees 2017 was complete, almost a year ahead. The changes between these events were both minor and significant. The core organising team was different each year. Personal obligations, availability, minor timetable clashes as well as the network of contacts on whom one could depend impacted this participation. The format of the event, in terms of the nature of activities, remained the same. However, the actual activities undertaken at the event and the particular causes for which the money was raised were different each year.

The organiser meetings for Rock4Refugees 2017 took place in pubs near Guildford that are convenient for organisers to travel to, some within walking distance of their houses. The format for the meetings was a curious mix of formal and informal. Some peculiar characteristics of a formal meetings were retained. Written agenda points (see Image 8) were provided at the meetings. One of the organisers

would typically assume the role of the chair, however, this was never formally announced. The characteristics of the discussion, the manner in which conversations were streamlined or interrupted were primary indicators of the chair role. This would also include using signs that indicate starting and stopping point for the organiser discussions (although, most times such discussions could not be constrained and were completed more naturally). The chair carried out reading out agenda points one by one, attempting to navigate the conversations so that it remains on track and took notes and modified the suggested actions for members. Even within the same meeting, the chair role was not consistently carried out by the same person and different people contributed to steering the direction of the meeting.

Facebook messages were used extensively for organising, for communications and as an information source. The negotiation of dates and times at which the organisers would meet took place over Facebook messages. Updates regarding the tasks completed and the resources acquired were also sent as group messages. The volunteer lists, meeting agendas, band schedules, instructions for organisers/volunteers, contact information list were circulated through Facebook group messages. In some cases, these lists were compiled using the information provided in the messages. In the example below (Image 5) same thread of messages is used to a) recommend a charity of choice b) update on progress of materials 3) update organisers' contact information 4) confirm progress of event Facebook page creation.

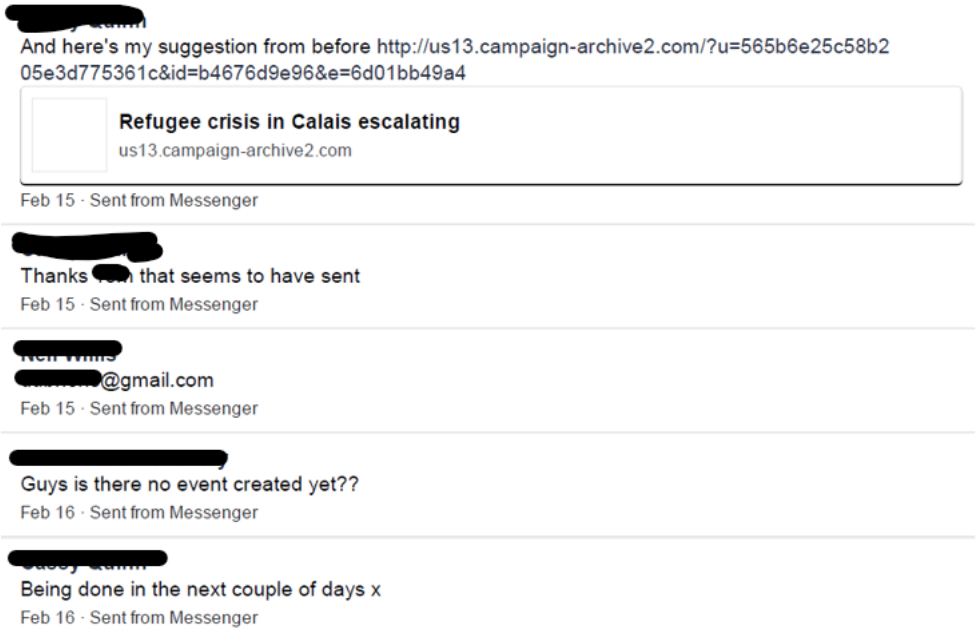


Image 5: Using Facebook message thread for updates and clarifications

There were some disadvantages for communication over such platform. For the insiders it was somewhat easier it to decipher the chain of thoughts that such interaction produced. However, the discussion could easily be confusing due to the extent of ideas being thrown in one thread. There were at times explicit efforts to overcome these difficulties (see point 3 in Image 6)

why we send out minutes from each meeting and ask that you let us know any points for discussion. Its really difficult pinning everyone down so please just go with a date if it's been set. 3) Please Please Please start a new chat group or new post in the organisers group if you have a new topic to raise - there's over 300 posts in the original group chat and going back to find points raised is an absolute nightmare. If you have a question that you know someone specifically can answer, message that person directly. I'm gonna copy this message into a new thread. Please don't reply to it as then everyone will know that it is about tomorrow's meeting and not a big long chat about other stuff. See you all tomorrow - any points to raise, please message me as per....
Mar 8, 2017 · Sent from Web

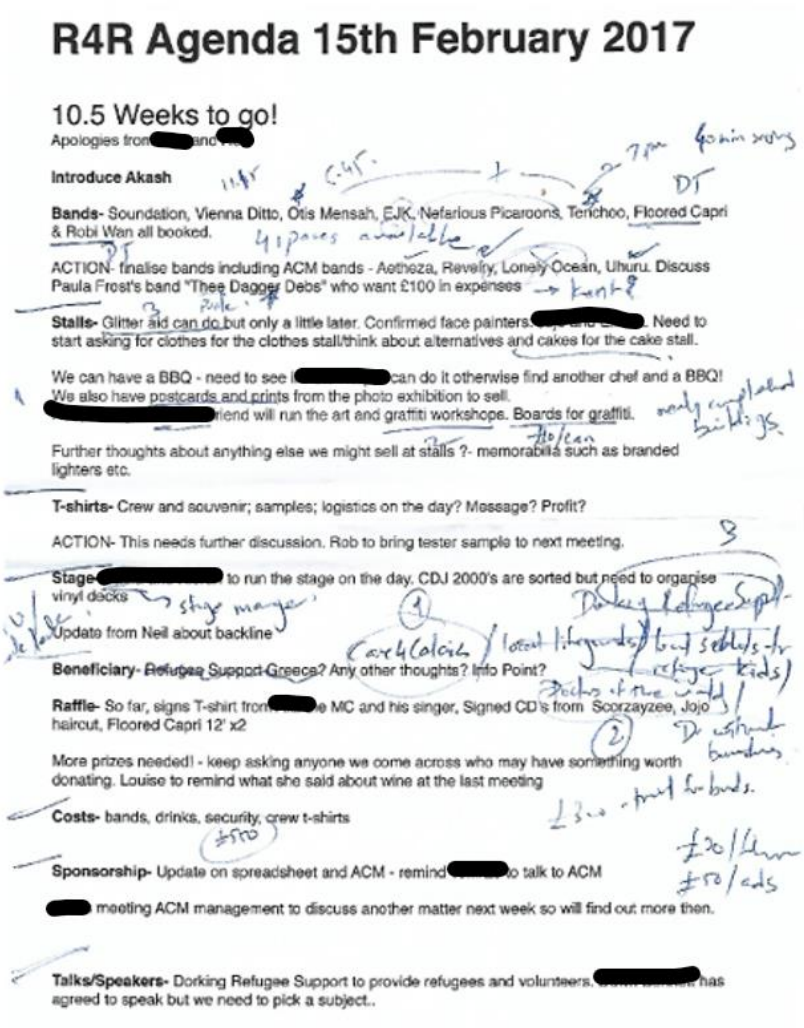
Image 6: Correcting confusion within message threads

The Facebook event page was used to generate participation from groups other than core organisers. For Rock4Refugees 2018 a poll was created to vote which charities the raised money should go to. The post had individual links to the organisations and the work they performed, and group members were encouraged to pick the two that they deemed most appropriate (see Image 7)

Image 7: Selecting a charity of choice through Facebook poll

The number of organisers attending the meeting varied, depending on the agenda for discussion as well as personal obligations of organisers. For meetings I attended, the highest number of attendees was eight and the lowest was three. The days designated for meeting were negotiated over Facebook messenger group in a fairly flexible manner. Only once, the changes to the meeting date and time were noted as an issue and caused a minor conflict.

The agenda items on the paper received uneven attention from the organiser through the discussions carried out. Please see Image 8 for a detailed list of agendas for two meetings. It is useful to notice the changes in these two agendas that indicated updated tasks. The notes indicate the discussion and changes to the written agenda points as the organiser conversation was carried on. The organiser discussion within the weekly meeting could be grouped into three categories: resource acquisition, task allocation and information sharing.



R4R Agenda 15th February 2017

10.5 Weeks to go!

Apologies from [redacted]

Introduce Akash

Bands- Soundation, Vienna Ditto, Otis Mensah, EJK, Nefarious Picaroons, Tenchoo, Floored Capri & Robi Wan all booked.

ACTION- finalise bands including ACM bands - Aetheza, Revelry, Lonely Ocean, Uhuru. Discuss Paula Frost's band "Thee Dagger Debs" who want £100 in expenses

Stalls- Glitter aid can do but only a little later. Confirmed face painters [redacted]. Need to start asking for clothes for the clothes stall/think about alternatives and cakes for the cake stall.

We can have a BBQ - need to see if [redacted] can do it otherwise find another chef and a BBQ! We also have postcards and prints from the photo exhibition to sell.

[redacted] friend will run the art and graffiti workshops. Boards for graffiti.

Further thoughts about anything else we might sell at stalls ?- memorabilia such as branded lighters etc.

T-shirts- Crew and souvenir; samples; logistics on the day? Message? Profit?

ACTION- This needs further discussion. Rob to bring tester sample to next meeting.

Stage- [redacted] to run the stage on the day. CDJ 2000's are sorted but need to organise vinyl decks

Update from Neil about backline

Beneficiary- ~~Refugee Support Greece~~? Any other thoughts? Info Point?

Raffle- So far, signs T-shirt from [redacted] MC and his singer, Signed CD's from Scorzayzee, Jojo haircut, Floored Capri 12" x2

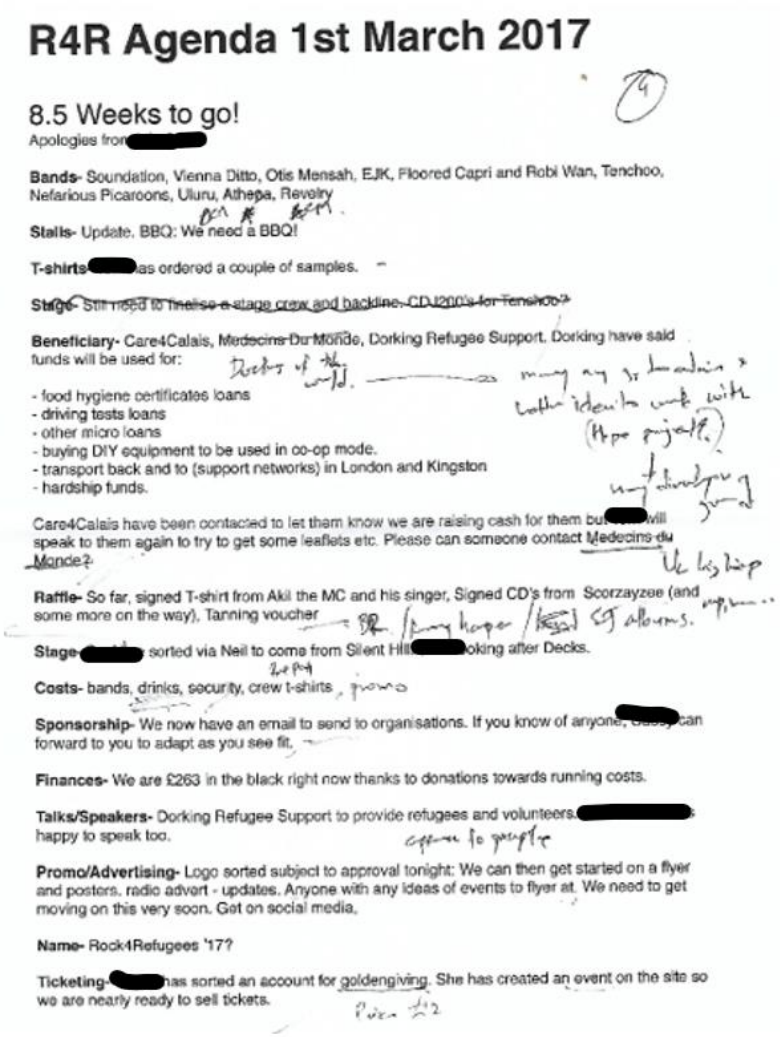
More prizes needed! - keep asking anyone we come across who may have something worth donating. Louise to remind what she said about wine at the last meeting

Costs- bands, drinks, security, crew t-shirts

Sponsorship- Update on spreadsheet and ACM - remind [redacted] to talk to ACM

[redacted] meeting ACM management to discuss another matter next week so will find out more then.

Talks/Speakers- Dorking Refugee Support to provide refugees and volunteers. [redacted] has agreed to speak but we need to pick a subject..



R4R Agenda 1st March 2017

8.5 Weeks to go!

Apologies from [redacted]

Bands- Soundation, Vienna Ditto, Otis Mensah, EJK, Floored Capri and Robi Wan, Tenchoo, Nefarious Picaroons, Uluru, Athepa, Revelry

Stalls- Update. BBQ: We need a BBQ!

T-shirts- [redacted] has ordered a couple of samples.

Stage- ~~Still need to finalise a stage crew and backline. CDJ200's for Tenchoo?~~

Beneficiary- Care4Calais, ~~Medecins Du Monde~~, Dorking Refugee Support. Dorking have said funds will be used for:

- food hygiene certificates loans
- driving tests loans
- other micro loans
- buying DIY equipment to be used in co-op mode.
- transport back and to (support networks) in London and Kingston
- hardship funds.

Care4Calais have been contacted to let them know we are raising cash for them but [redacted] will speak to them again to try to get some leaflets etc. Please can someone contact ~~Medecins du Monde~~?

Raffle- So far, signed T-shirt from Akil the MC and his singer, Signed CD's from Scorzayzee (and some more on the way), Tanning voucher

Stage- [redacted] sorted via Neil to come from Silent Hill [redacted] looking after Decks.

Costs- bands, drinks, security, crew t-shirts

Sponsorship- We now have an email to send to organisations. If you know of anyone, [redacted] can forward to you to adapt as you see fit.

Finances- We are £263 in the black right now thanks to donations towards running costs.

Talks/Speakers- Dorking Refugee Support to provide refugees and volunteers. [redacted] happy to speak too.

Promo/Advertising- Logo sorted subject to approval tonight: We can then get started on a flyer and posters. radio advert - updates. Anyone with any ideas of events to flyer at. We need to get moving on this very soon. Get on social media.

Name- Rock4Refugees '17?

Ticketing- [redacted] has sorted an account for goldengiving. She has created an event on the site so we are nearly ready to sell tickets.

Image 8: Agenda items for R4R that exhibit updates to the organising tasks

4.1.5.1 Resource acquisition

Discussions of resource acquisition revolved around materials and money for the project. Recurrent topics were sources approached for sponsorship, items acquired for auction or raffle and equipment needed on the day.

SP1: And what about utensils? Have you got utensils? what we're doing about utensils.
SP2: Well, if we're getting the barbeque from there, can't we have the utensils?
SP3: I might be able to lend you some of mine.
SP1: Yes if we all chip in a bit together.
SP3: Make a list of what you need and between us we'll sort it out.
SP4: I've got some big sharp knives and I can bring some from mine.
SP2: I can bring some from my neighbour.

The conversation above reinforces the curious mix of formal and informal mentioned earlier. The discussion ensued from an agenda point – Stalls (see Image 8) and the ideas about how a potential barbeque could be used for fundraising. Yet, the means of achieving this end – lending what is available at home, borrowing from a neighbour, even "make a list …between us we'll sort it out" all – draw on an everyday social character of life rather than a necessarily organisational one. (The general attitude towards resources 'use anything you can find' is discussed in detail in section 5.2.3.1.). Multiple sources for resource acquisition were considered

"Anvertons, so that's a music shop that's just around the corner and they provided some of the sound equipment that day, another local studio did this as well. And we held a raffle where a lot of local shops donated raffle prizes, too many to mention. Just trying to think off the top of my head what help was provided. So, there's a girl that runs a massage parlour and she gave a massage as a raffle prize. The local sport centre they gave like 3 swimming lessons and ice skating. The other G-live venue, they gave away tickets for raffle. Yeah, the stalls itself, that was run by volunteers. On the clothing collection day, obviously it's quite specific sort of items of clothing that we were asking for Calais, so stuff that is going to withstand winter weather. We were getting a lot of surplus stuff and some of it was very good. Sort of high street labels and that... it has actually got a value second hand so we had a nice clothing stall that could have been seen as a top charity shop which made something like £500."

Money spent up to the day, the encouragement towards continuously approaching people and organisations, as well as cautionary statements about expenses were recurrent topics of discussion. As the event approached nearer, discussions revolving around money became more frequent and prominent. Having these discussions was itself a means of accountability and restraint.

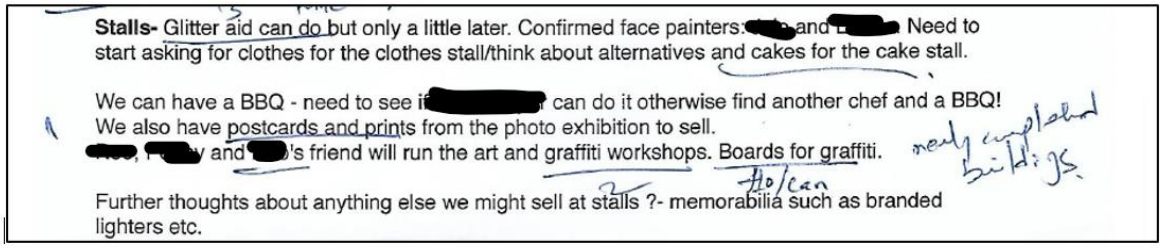
SP1: Costs. We've spent a lot of money and we haven't made any money.
SP2: Yes, I know.
SP1: Just not spend any more money.
SP2: No can't spend any more because we've spent more than we spent last year.
SP3: Yes. But I don't think we will spend anymore now.
SP2: I don't think we need to. We shouldn't do. I can't see what else.
SP1: If I think of anything else, I'll see.
SP2: I still need to … Well, something when I get paid is sorting that hamper out as well. I've got that on my list of things to do.

Frequently, the organisers were using their own money to take care of multiple activities organised, and so, the timing for expenses depended on the schedule of their pay checks. Taking initiative and doing things without being told was heavily encouraged. This however, added a lot of uncertainty

resulting in both positive and not so positive outcomes. For example, at times, the resource acquisition happened without the core organising team being aware of it. For R4R17, the event was promoted over Flex FM radio and this was complete pleasant surprise to the organising team. An educated guess taken was that one of the participants had taken the initiative using his contacts at the radio and managed to book free promotion for the event. So, in terms of resource acquisition, individual initiative and social contacts played a significant role. Multiple sources for resources were considered and 'use everything you can find' was a typical motto followed.

4.1.5.2 Task allocation

Second recurrent aspect was the allocation of tasks and the discussions around their implementation. The organisers would typically volunteer to undertake the task as the discussion progressed. In some cases, depending on the previous experience, specific expertise in the task or convenience of location, transportation or available resources, the main organisers designated the tasks to others.


Stalls- Glitter aid can do but only a little later. Confirmed face painters: [redacted] and [redacted] Need to start asking for clothes for the clothes stall/think about alternatives and cakes for the cake stall.

We can have a BBQ - need to see if [redacted] can do it otherwise find another chef and a BBQ!
We also have postcards and prints from the photo exhibition to sell.
[redacted] and [redacted]'s friend will run the art and graffiti workshops. Boards for graffiti.

Further thoughts about anything else we might sell at stalls ?- memorabilia such as branded lighters etc.

Image 9: Task allocation in agenda

In the meetings observed, I never came across an incident where an organising member refused to undertake a designated task. Previous tasks (see Image 9) would get updated in the next meeting and separate set of actions were allocated to participants

- *Glitter Aid- ACTION C____ to double check their availability as they may only be able to be there for a bit*
- *Face painters- J___, E___ and C___ has asked L___*
- *BBQ- J___ is checking with P___ as the BoilerRoom have said we can have one, if not need to find someone willing to help and with all the certificates etc. If P___ can do it, he will only charge the cost price of the food. May possibly need to get hold of a fridge for the day.*
- *Smiles 4 Miles Art area- R___ and P___ will be running this ACTION please all see if you can get hold of any planks…builder friends would be good*

The core organisers volunteered to perform the heaviest chunks of work. The actual *doing* of the tasks happened in the background, often taking place at their homes as they worked away on their personal laptops.

"T___ seems to be taking the lead in that he's working with BoilerRoom in organising documentation as required for the bands while coordinating with them. C___ is working with the bank accounts, sorting things out with Golden Ticket. They sent me the google docs for band time allocation, member list and guests, this must have taken significant amount of work to compile. It is remarkable that he's doing this while managing the assignment for the university courses alongside."

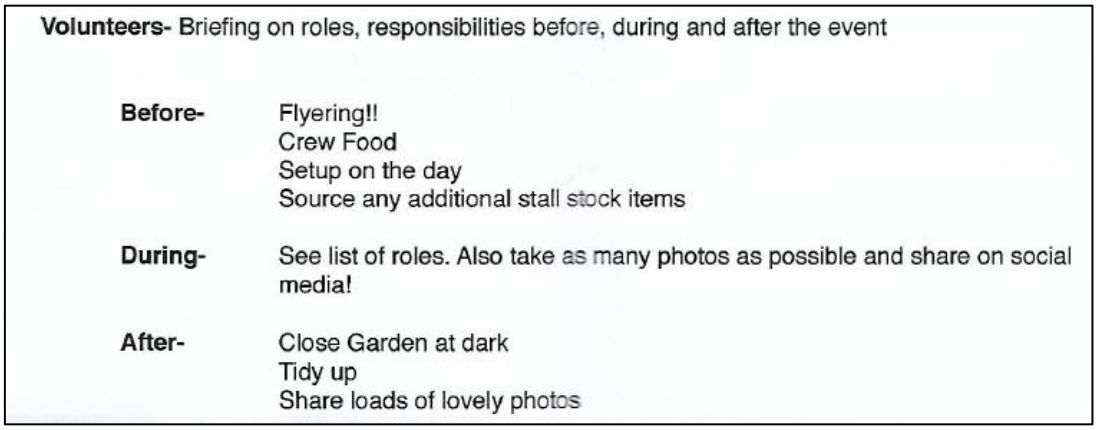
The tasks that required tangible materials (such as crafting, banner painting) were supported by organisers through use of their own resources, labour, and time. There was emotional attachment

with the tasks; personal joy and pride was visible through the way these tangible materials were (or not) utilised at the event.

"N___ talked about S___ making the big banner for the Rock4Refugees. The original idea was that it would go as a backdrop for the event, and she had put it on the table at house. It was a huge king-sized bed sheet, and she had been painting this for the last two weeks. She was quite keen on making it herself, and she sprawled it out in her living room, the kids were not allowed to go in the living room, they had to walk all around. She had taken some of the house furniture out to make space for it, and she was obsessed with her paints, had taken the whole area over for this project and was very happy with the outcome."

"S___ spoke about the cooking she had done, thinking of making something for vegan people, she is vegan herself as well … getting three kilos of potatoes, buying tons of soya milk and chunks. She was cooking and making the curry and the food until four o'clock in the morning. She went to the trouble of finding solid coconut fat, thawing it, using it as a base for brownies. But in the end, the brownies came out hard, and then she didn't want to sell them because she thought that it's not right to sell something that was not a best end product."

The agenda list mentions various tasks that were not necessarily allocated to a specific individual.



Volunteers- Briefing on roles, responsibilities before, during and after the event

Before-	Flyering!! Crew Food Setup on the day Source any additional stall stock items
During-	See list of roles. Also take as many photos as possible and share on social media!
After-	Close Garden at dark Tidy up Share loads of lovely photos

Image 10: Non allocated tasks on agenda

The core organisers would usually shoulder the responsibility of these tasks unless others volunteered to take care of it. The nature of the allocated tasks, more often than not, was getting in touch with people for resource acquisition or advertising. The meeting or Facebook messages were used to notify when the tasks were completed. Appreciation or further encouragement, as appropriate, was promptly reciprocated by other organisers on the completion of the task.

4.1.5.3 Information sharing

The last prominent aspect of discussion within organiser meetings, evident in the data, is information sharing. Broad chunks of conversations have been grouped under this NVivo set. Partly, these included updates on the progress of tasks allocated to organisers in the previous meetings, updates on attempts to secure further resources, notifications of changes to previous arrangements and sharing ideas for promotion and advertising. Other information such as changes to the plans for the playset or changing of the organiser or events page were communicated using the Facebook page.

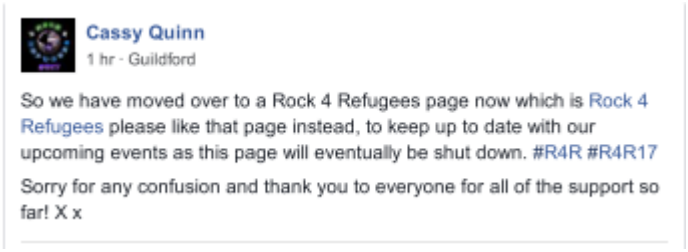


Image 11: Updates to communication channels posted on Facebook

However, besides this, a lot of the information sharing took place in form of brainstorming to answer questions such as: how to do this? who can do this? is there a way of improving this? To answer these, organisers shared personal knowledge and contacts, drew on past work experiences, reaffirmed and supported other organiser suggestions and, through this process, continually defined acceptable ways of operating for themselves and the group as well as performed on the spot problem solving. Below example shows such a curious mix and near random means of decision making/problem solving.

SP1: Do we know anyone with a van that can fit a 2.5m panel?
SP4: My other half's is probably the biggest van. It's huge, it's a Vivaro, if that means anything to you.
SP3: Could he bring it here on the Thursday the evening before.
SP4: I'll ask him. He generally does what I've asked him to do. Or you could ask him?
SP3: Alright, I'll ask him?
SP4: I'll ask him then, that's fine.
SP3: Yes. So, again, it's alright just left in the garden Thursday night and then we can prime them on Friday ready for hanging. On the Saturday…
SP1: On Friday evening, can I please bring the barbecue on Friday evening because I won't have time Saturday morning and just dump it in the garden?
SP5: As I said, we've got a really busy night the night before which isn't really ideal. If there's no other way we're going to have to do it aren't we, just stick it in the corner, but it able to get under cover.
SP4: I'll bring it.

Facebook and other social media were extensively used as an information source.

"I have found that Facebook is the most effective one. It's just amazing how everybody is using it these days. A lot of people will set up a lot of different groups so there is a group for Greece I mean there is a group for every island in Greece. And also, there is a group for every town in Surrey as well. So, there is one in Dorking, there is one in Farnham, there's one in the Woking as well. And once you become a member of each of these groups, then each of us knows what each of us is doing"

There would be discussions to figure out how to do certain task and what to include or exclude. Conscious effort was made by all sides to accommodate both the possibilities of inclusion/exclusion. The ideas that were presented were hedged or retreated easily by the person proposing them, on the other hand, the person listening to the idea would consider them and encourage presentation even if idea were unrealistic. The back and forth was a delicate dance of coming to a consensus.

SP2: What I'm thinking is on the day if we start taking some pictures, maybe some of the stuff can go into that, but I don't know if that's a really good idea.
SP3: Yes possibly, it might be tricky to do it…. I had thought of a way that it could be done but it would involve her bringing her computer. I'll talk to her about it.
SP2: The bands that played before if we put them in. I don't know, it might not be relevant, don't worry about it too much.

While the dance was delicate, it would nevertheless attempt to thoroughly exhaust possibilities. An example is where one of the stall activities and how to accomplish it was being discussed.

"We started to discuss what else could be put up in the stalls. C___ suggested that she needs to be reminded about the aloe vera plants that she intends to bring. Right away, the questions asked were, how many should she bring? How much space it would take? How much to charge for each of them? Where they could be stored? We discussed the aesthetics (sizes of plants, how they would look in display depending on numbers, their condition – healthier looking ones), logistics (what space was available, what the organisation would allow in terms of storage), and the expectations (captive audience, going rate for aloe vera plants, checking online to see typical pricing). What was amusing about in such discussions is not the topics themselves but rather their width, and yet, how they could be grouped together under 'common sense questions'."

The flexibility that was retained to accommodate possible changes even extended to the core programme. A number of changes happened to the music playset. The organisers made sure to find substitute bands to play in very short notice – sometimes on the same day. The information was almost always handed out after a substitution was found. The changes were communicated on the event Facebook and Twitter pages.

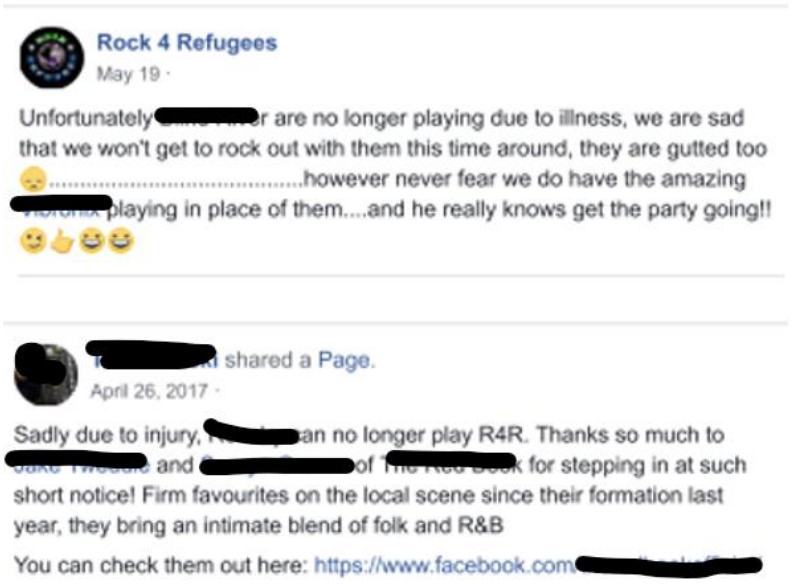


Image 12: Changes to programme communicated over Facebook

To sum up, information sharing was performed not as a passive activity of updates but as an interactive activity in which 'right sense' was created. Discussions accommodated the information presenter and receiver together. Multiple possibilities, sometimes contradictory had to be considered and had to kept being considered until a working consensus was achieved; the information was usually made sense of after rather than being treated as definite and certain at the time of its sharing.

While the discussion of above three aspects of planning – resource acquisition, task allocation and information sharing has tackled many organisational aspects it is a useful reminder that the space within which these were conducted was not necessarily organisational. The informal collaborative work was never only work.

"The setting of the meeting is the pub. The lighting is dim; there is music playing in the background. We have a pint in front of us as the discussions unfold. The planning is mixed up with other

conversation; a heavy chunk of the chat relates to personal and social rather than organisational or professional. People are in their own words "taking the micky or winding each other up". And all of these are conscious non-work choices that are actually making the planning work possible."

4.1.6 Performing on the day

The days of the events were perhaps the very embodiment of 'making sense of chaos' in the collaborative work. These days were surrounded by the uncertainty and in-the-moment organising. The uncertainty surrounding the roles was easily evident. Even with extensive discussions in the organiser meetings about what to expect, when participants (including me) actually showed up on the day, what specific tasks to perform was unclear.

"When we came in, I had a conversation with her, introduced myself and understood that she was also supposed to be on artist liaison. She didn't have much of an idea as to what it is that she was supposed to be doing, or what it is that she was responsible for."

Conversations with people close by and minor negotiations resolved such uncertainties to some extent. The organisers would simply respond to the things that they were focusing their attention on and try and impose some order to get them ready for the event. Similarly, the decision making was done on-the-spot, alongside people who were nearby. The organising retained characteristics of in-the-moment organising discussed in the planning phase.

"So, after a certain point, we went upstairs, checked out the Green Room area, I told her about the beers, and again, I don't think I have mentioned, but T___ told me that for artists, they had stored the beers in the office, L___'s office and that anyone who was working from the BoilerRoom staff would have key to the door. Now, we kind of worked it out between Lo___ and me that she can have a look within the Green Room, so I would stay at the back door, once artists come in, introduce myself, give them a hand with the luggage, bring them up, give them areas to put the music equipment in, then when they're in the Green Room, I would leave them in her hands, she would offer them drinks, take care of anything that they need, and so on. We sorted the tasks out between ourselves. "

The activities in these instances were not directed but voluntarily chosen

"At the beginning, there was a bit of inertia in the sense that nobody really knew what was to be done or where things were going to go, and when we were thinking maybe when core team arrives, they will have some ideas as to where things would go, but we didn't want to wait until they arrived, and we decided to start moving some of the stuff and making some space. That basically included just moving items around, we didn't do any major changes at that point. However, even when organisers arrived, they didn't really give any specific instructions "

Participants interacted and organised the spatially close and the familiar objects/activities. The pre-assigned roles indicated specific areas in which the organisers would be performing their duties.

- Artist liaison – Green room
- Back gate controller – garden and back gate area
- Stage crew – front of the house and stage
- Graffiti and stalls – garden area

Image 13: Areas prior to organising on the day

At the beginning of the day the participants would take initiative and take charge of these areas and organise them to fit the purpose. This involved a multitude of tasks ranging from cleaning, modifications to the existing set up, building some things from the scratch and decoration. Again, the focus was on whatever was nearby or the familiar. Specific objects would form the focus of discussion between various participants.

"So, at one point, we decided rather than keeping the banner out, we could put it on the backdrop, where it needs to go. Now what had happened is the BoilerRoom had some fixed lights put into their backdrop already. The only way for us to put the banner would have been to basically block the lights that the BoilerRoom has there. This would have been not very good, because it wouldn't look very great. Further the issue was that the banner was longer than needed, and much less in terms of width, than was required to cover the backdrop area. This meant that it couldn't go in the back, as it was. We tried to take it to the back, we tried to use a needle to kind of thread it in, and have a look how it looks, but that didn't look very nice. We thought about putting it to the side, or where the projection was going to go, and we considered a few areas, where we may be able to work with this. What ended up happening is we ended up putting the banner besides the box office sitting area backdrop. One of the BoilerRoom staff then put a UV light there to kind of manage it there as well. Because of my height, I managed to put it in one side, N___ went out and got Ca___ to come in and do the other side."

The participants were aware that this seemingly haphazard organising was an intended way of doing things

"He precisely used the expression in the morning, and I remember this vividly, he said, you know what, this area, consider it your blank canvas, do whatever that you would like to do. Then she took charge and set her station up"

There were a number of last-minute changes to the event schedule. There was no attempt to announce this beyond a few corrections made on a paper indicating the band performance schedule that was poster-ed in three different spots.

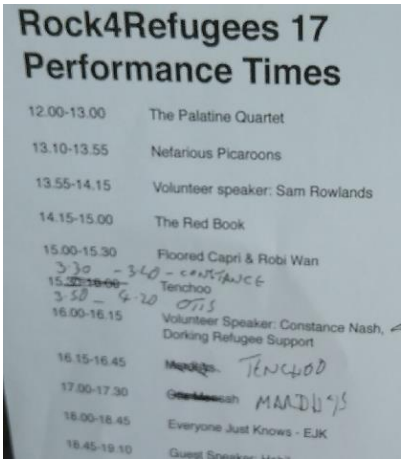


Image 14: Last minute changes communicated through pamphlets

The bands were treated with care. A team of two was assigned as artist liaison to look after any particular needs that may arise but most of the core organisers made sure to have conversation with the bands throughout the day. Given the nature of their music-related studies and consequent work, the benefits of this conversation to organisers extended beyond the immediate concerns regarding Rock4Refugees. During the daytime, attendees in the garden or the back area were encouraged to come and watch the bands perform, particularly so when the number of people at the venue was low. BoilerRoom provided GP2P with free use of the venue, music equipment, advice on the logistics and the timings, security for the day and gave substantial input throughout that shaped this event.

The core organising team, in their own words, 'floated around' - moving from area to area, assessing where, if any, support is immediately required and either delegating it to people with spare time on their hands, or actually helping out for the particular task themselves, latter being more prominent. Core organising team were also involved in looking after the money. People at the box office were asked to keep tabs on how much money is taken from the walk-ins. Core organisers made sure that it was periodically counted and transferred to the safe. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the methods of doing this was not consistent but simply aimed at getting the job done. A picture of walk-in count below can be used as an example of various different manners in which the counting was performed.

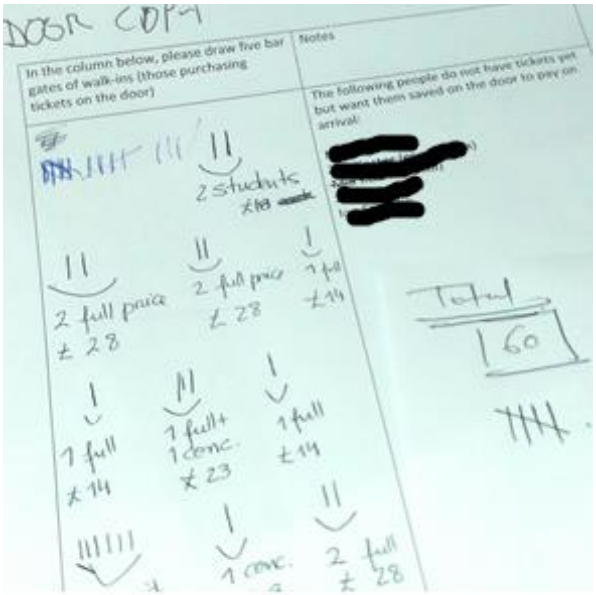


Image 15: Door count sheet as an example of diverse means of task completion

This example is further discussed in the interpretations chapter (see section 5.4.1). What is important to notice at this point is that the multiple ways of keeping the count are used for the exact same document. The persons taking over have accommodated those ways and simply carried on using their own style. The document, while accomplishing the set purpose in vague terms is not understood or utilised in the same manner. In this way, in Rock4Refugee, the feel of 'organising' process was consistent, but means were plural. When compared between the planning up to the day and performing on the day, the extent to which the organisers' organising behaviour changed was very little to none; organising was always performed flexibly.

During the course of the day, the organisers assessed the outcomes of the day using means such as number of people in attendance, amount of money raised, overall vibe of the event and enjoyment of the participants. The core organisers frequently moved around the areas of set up: box office, stalls, graffiti area, stage, and green room. The conversations between the core organisers in these areas, if not related to the organising activities, were about the formative assessment of how successful the outcome seemed to be. The organisers felt personally responsible for the success or failure of the event. The conversations that ensued were personal, encouraging, aimed at supporting each other and either outcome had a visible emotional impact on the organisers.

BoilerRoom had suggested certain guidelines for the tidying up of the space post event. These norms were treated in the same manner as other organising norms: tentatively and tenuously. A rough timing for packing up the stalls in the garden and the back gate area was suggested, however the organisers continued to discuss and negotiate these timings on the day. This was deemed to depend upon the number of people who show up to the event and how long they wished to enjoy that particular space. Some guidelines suggested for what could or could not be left at the venue overnight were purposefully ignored (see example in section 5.1.3.2). The logics used for decision making and organising the spaces persisted when the task was to wrap things up. Whatever was needed in the moment was the most important aspect for consideration; previous plans and discussion had little bearing on the process of such decision making.

4.1.7 Following up

Often, more events were organised as a follow up of the original event. The main purpose of such events would be to thank the participants and volunteers as well as continue to raise the awareness towards the cause. An unexpected outcome of these was further fundraising for the cause.

"Yeah, we held one just two weeks ago. It was at the Keystone in Guildford. It was more like a 'thank you' party for the volunteers and everyone else who had gotten involved, but we still managed to raise about £500 on back of that one. So, that was pretty neat."

The more prominent method of following up on the event success was through the announcements made on social media networks. The amount collected was advertised on the posts, with references made to the charities/grassroot initiatives that will be spending the money. The purpose for which the money would be spent was clearly indicated as well. These posts also had a detailed mention of the key contributors, organisers, and volunteers – tagged in the post – showing appreciation for their efforts (see Image 16 and Image 17)

Image 16: Appreciation for participants shared through Facebook post – example one

The appreciation posts were a norm for the collaborative events. Many a times these were done independently by the organisers, with contributors mentioned in each post. Some posts were done before the amount raised were finalised, and again, would repeat the contributors' names multiple times whenever the outcome of the event was mentioned (see Image 16 and Image 17). The organisers suggested that such mentions on social media were not only a means of recognition but would work as a means of advertising for organisations that took part within the collaborative projects.

Image 17: Appreciation for participants shared through Facebook post - example two

Once the money had been used towards a specific purpose, the organisers or the relevant charities would share updates and pictures, evidencing impact they had on the lives of people. Prior to doing this informal conversations and updates amongst the core organisers would ensure that everyone is agreed with the way that the money could be spent. As with the most other functioning of the project, Facebook messenger chat was used to ensure everyone was agreed (see Image 18).

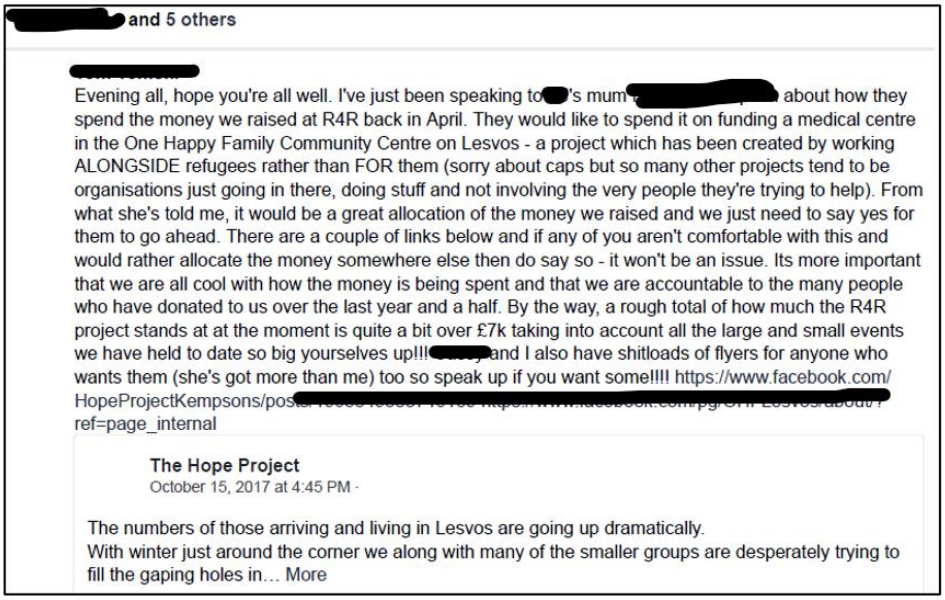


Image 18: Discussions of fundraising impact in Facebook messenger

Informal updates between core organisers were used to account for the tangible success of fundraising efforts.

"We did £3.5k at r4r1, £500 at r4r C__'s birthday, £200 approx. at the November one last year, £1.5k at the rave and r4r2. Also, if you add D___'s photo exhibition, which was another grand, we're at £8 grand.... another WHOOOOOOPPPP!!!!"

As with the mentions of the organisers, this sort of internal celebration was norm but done with conscious awareness as a necessary feature of the follow up and assessment. The organisers spoke about being able to build on success only through continuous recollection of what their collaborative work has managed to achieve up to date. There was also emotional support and appreciation shared between the organisers. The section 4.3, tales of collaborative work, outlines further means of peculiar organising and follow up that I have sketched above. The next section looks at the second informal unstructured collaborative project – Share Fair.

4.2 Share Fair: The Eden Communities and Big Lunch Extras

4.2.1 Researcher involvement

Researcher access to Share Fair has been discussed in-depth earlier (see section 3.2.1). To recap briefly, I was introduced to Share Fair through a social enterprise owner and local activist who was partaking in community events in Milton Keynes. I became involved in the early stages of the project; my first encounter was only the second iteration of the event. The organisers were welcoming of my interventions and offers of help. They allowed me to be part of the process as each iteration shaped the next, which allowed for immersive and relational access. I was involved in the project in multiple capacities: physical presence at the event and assistance with organising, brainstorming with other organisers about the nature of event and means of improvement, written feedback on the events and

sharing my reflections etc. Towards the end stages, when the funding from The National Lottery was discontinued and the project was taken over by other organisations, my involvement was already considerably reduced. This was coincidental due to the constraints on time spent collecting data. At the time of write up, the project does not exist in the original form, but in fragmented forms and variations that use different titles. However, I have maintained contact with core informants from the project who still have plans to develop Share Fair as a community initiative at some point in an independent capacity.

4.2.2 Origins and development

Share Fair is a collaborative project piloted by Eden Project Communities (Eden Project Communities, 2020), which is an initiative of the well-known educational charity and social enterprise The Eden Project, Cornwall, UK (Eden Project, 2020). In the early 2016, Eden communities had asked their teams to generate ideas for community projects that would tackle societal issues such as the lack of inter-generational activities, problems facing young people, loneliness, austerity and poverty, waste, and environmental issues. These projects were to be piloted and submitted for funding. Christine Sefton, who shaped the idea for Share fair, had been working as a community catalyst for Eden and was partly inspired from events organised through that role.

"Some of you will remember the Big Lunch Extra (BLE) Road Show event organised last year in MK. For those of you who came to this event, you'll also remember that rather than BLE buying in workshops, equipment, and food, you brought along and shared your skills, equipment, and a beautiful Big Lunch! This BLE event and subsequent DIY BLE events were in many respects the inspiration for the Share Fair."

National Lottery Community Fund (Community Fund, 2020) were to act as potential source of funding for these proposed projects. Over 11 projects were piloted, and selection was to be made from amongst the projects for the application towards the funding process. National Lottery Community Fund had clarified that they would prefer projects born out of existing relationships between Big Lunch Extra participants. The core idea was to organise a series of recurrent community events that would tackle a number of the abovementioned issues. Discussions with close members of BLE ensued.

"S__ and J___ got hold of people in their council and some of the movers and shakers within the kind of public sector, charity, type area. And we had a really nice lunch, but we also had a big piece of paper where we just flung ideas down and we had a bit of brainstorm"

Numerous ideas were floated as to how such event can be organised. One of the earlier versions made use of the blue spaces (rivers, ocean, water bodies in the area) but the organising process could not accommodate this easily. The focus was then changed to green space. The conversation accommodated guidance from local councils and public sector organisations.

"I made a few phone calls to some councils. I remember ringing up Bradford council, spoke to someone on the events team and she said, don't talk to the market department because you will end up having to negotiate a market license. And then… And in fact, there was a whole thing about if you call it a market, you end up in this particular cul-de-sac of activity where it's not particularly useful."

Although the word 'market' keeps appearing in pamphlets, promotional posts materials etc. (see Image 19) and is used to convey the idea in a simplistic manner, following the advice from council, at times, the organisers consciously maintain distance from the description 'market'. While it was agreed that the event will be shaped like a market, the differentiating feature was to be the complete lack of monetary transaction.

"The market is the model in terms of being a pop-up event to people. How about we just take money out of it? We take money out of it entirely, then the bit that makes it uncomfortable is taken out. …"

Image 19: Descriptions of Share Fair as a market

The next stage in planning was to work out the specifics of the implementation. The first trial happened in Boston where a BLE volunteer held Share Fair as part of a week-long events that she was organising. One of the days was allocated to be Share Fair day. This had limited success with about 30 people in attendance. However, it generated a lot of ideas for how things could be organised going ahead. The second iteration in Milton Keynes was significantly bigger in scale; more than twenty organisations were involved on the day and 250+ people were in attendance. Different models of Share Fair were tried after this at different locations: a small pop up within another event, an independent Share Fair, combining Share Fair with Big Lunch. Recurring iterations were organised in St Austell (initially five proposed, one each month, and then extended for five more), Stanford le Hope (three monthly Share Fairs), St Lawrence (four monthly Share Fairs). Some locations like Bodmin held a Share Fair as an annual affair. Several other iterations of Share Fair-like projects have been co-evolving at the same time in different locations (see Figure 12).

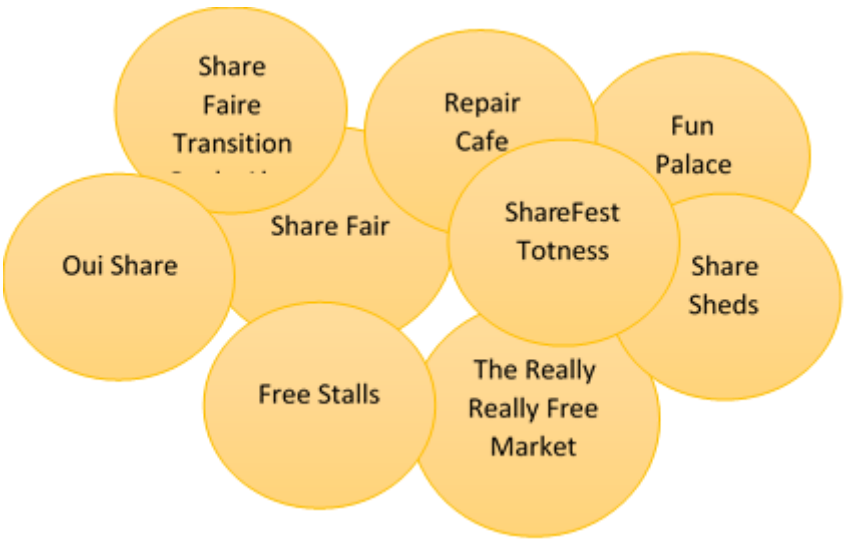


Figure 12: Multiple iterations of Share Fair concept

These initiatives share the central tenet of Share Fair: creating spaces for people to interact and exchange ideas, material goods or experiences without the intervention of money. Some of the

initiatives were running before the Share Fair, however, the organisers only became aware of these through their efforts to plan and grow Share Fairs.

In November 2017, the project was not short listed towards the funding application. However, despite the lack of funding, the idea of Share Fairs has continued to take root in various places. A local organisation, Cornwall Neighbourhoods for Change (CN4C), took over the St Austell Share Fairs in December 2017 to run them for further monthly iterations. Another BLE participant, who had supported the Boston and Milton Keynes Share Fairs, held one near her locale in Cambridge in March 2018. A Share Fair took place in Brighton in July 2019. These Share Fairs have continued in the spirit that the original one had been expected to grow, organically and without a central organiser/organisation driving the initiative. Christine has plans to develop a website that could work as a source of encouragement and would provide guidelines to anyone who wants to organise a Share Fair in their own community.

4.2.3 Inter-organisational context/involvement

Compared to Rock4Refugees, outlining the interorganisational context of the Share Fair is an even more complicated task. This complexity is due to three reasons: 1) open nature of participation: any organisation could participate/withdraw at any given point without prior notice, 2) autonomous local organisers: local organisers of the events were not reporting to any central team and made independent decisions regarding involvement of individuals/organisations as the situational logic required and 3) the varied nature of the events: iterations of Share Fair on different dates and in different locales were significantly different, which meant that, even with the same designated role, the involvement of individuals/organisations was of a very differing nature. This is further convoluted by an ambiguity in representation; it was not always clear whether the individuals participating were doing so as representative of organisation or in an individual capacity. No single individual or organisation participated in all of the Share Fair events.

Given the above difficulties in outlining an interorganisational context, a simple and efficient way to summarise them is to through an approximate presentation of organisations that participated in particular Share Fair event (see Figure 13 and Figure 14). I support with a description of various roles/tasks that participating organisations undertook and categorise them in two tiers. Using coded activity data, it is possible to identify specific roles performed by a specific organisation in a specific iteration of Share Fair, however such exact identification does not add anything particularly significant for my data presentation. The account of activities is necessarily partial and does not exhaustively capture the changing nature of involvement that organisations exhibited. The description below, Figure 13 and Figure 14 together should provide a reasonable sense of context within which organisations and participants operated. Overall, the participation of organisation in Share Fair could be divided in two tiers of activities.

Tier one activities

The core participant organisations were more heavily in involved in planning up to the day as well as performing on the day. The tasks before the day involved formal documentation, resources acquisition, planning logistics, and marketing and advertising (see section 4.2.5). The core organisers would, among other tasks, draft a tentative budget, perform a risk assessment, complete documentation with local council/event venue for acquiring the place and obtain a public liability insurance. As the venue and nature of the event was different each time, only an approximate guideline could be offered to anyone who wanted to organise a Share Fair. At times, serendipitous encounters made such organising possible. For example, in the Milton Keynes Share Fair, the environment officer for the Parish Council, was in attendance of the first meeting for planning. On the

day itself, the Parish council paid him to take part in and organise the event, which meant that a lot of documentation that is potentially hard to complete could be tackled with help of an insider. Christine suggests the following rule for planning of activities such as risk assessment.

"In the planning of Share Fairs, I let my imagination run wild and then plan safety precautions on that basis. This gives the flexibility for possible activities to happen. On the day, you have to work with what you've got, but by erring on the side of caution, you have covered the safety aspects of possible opportunistic activities."

Eden Project Communities had kept funds aside to support the organisers for marketing and advertising. Local organisers would communicate proposed dates and would receive the pamphlets and flyers to use for advertising. Social media accounts were used to advertise Share Fairs. Where Eden representatives were present, materials used at Share Fair (flags, tents, games, craft items etc.) were allocated through Eden as well. However, for other means, local organisers would have to acquire resources through their own contacts. The principle of 'use anything you can find' was routinely applied (See section 5.2.3.1).

Core organisers would also undertake the role of task allocation. This would entail introducing the members of organisations who are taking part for the first time to the 'way of things': suggesting places for set up, discussing nature of activities/information that they planned to share, accommodating specific needs that they may have and encouraging them to take the lead in the organising process. The communal nature of work that shaped the projects was continuously stressed when such organising was discussed by the informants. The participants or organisations carrying out activities listed above were necessarily heavily coordinating between multiple stakeholders. They were responsible for tasks without which Share Fair could not have taken place. This coordinating between multiple stakeholders inadvertently meant that the participants had to work beyond organisational boundaries and synergise the efforts of multiple entities towards making the Share Fair possible.

Tier two activities

Organisations that performed tier two activities had a lesser extent of involvement in the planning up to the day. The tasks they undertook were relatively simple. It included sharing and promoting the event on social media, taking part in conversations on social media to suggest ideas, provide information to organisers, outline availability of resources, suggesting possible means of performing activities or alternate resources that could help with organising process.

In most cases, this would also involve physical presence at the events and offering menial labour to support the day-to-day activities carried out at the Share Fair. On the day of Share Fair, it was relatively hard to distinguish which organisations formed the core centre of the organising activity. As organisers encouraged everyone involved to think of themselves not as participants but as organisers, the lines between the tier one and tier two activities on the day itself were easily blurred (see 4.2.6). The images below (Figure 13 and Figure 14) outline multiple organisations involved in different capacities at two different iterations of Share Fair. The distance from the centre is used to show an approximate classification of activities by tiers.

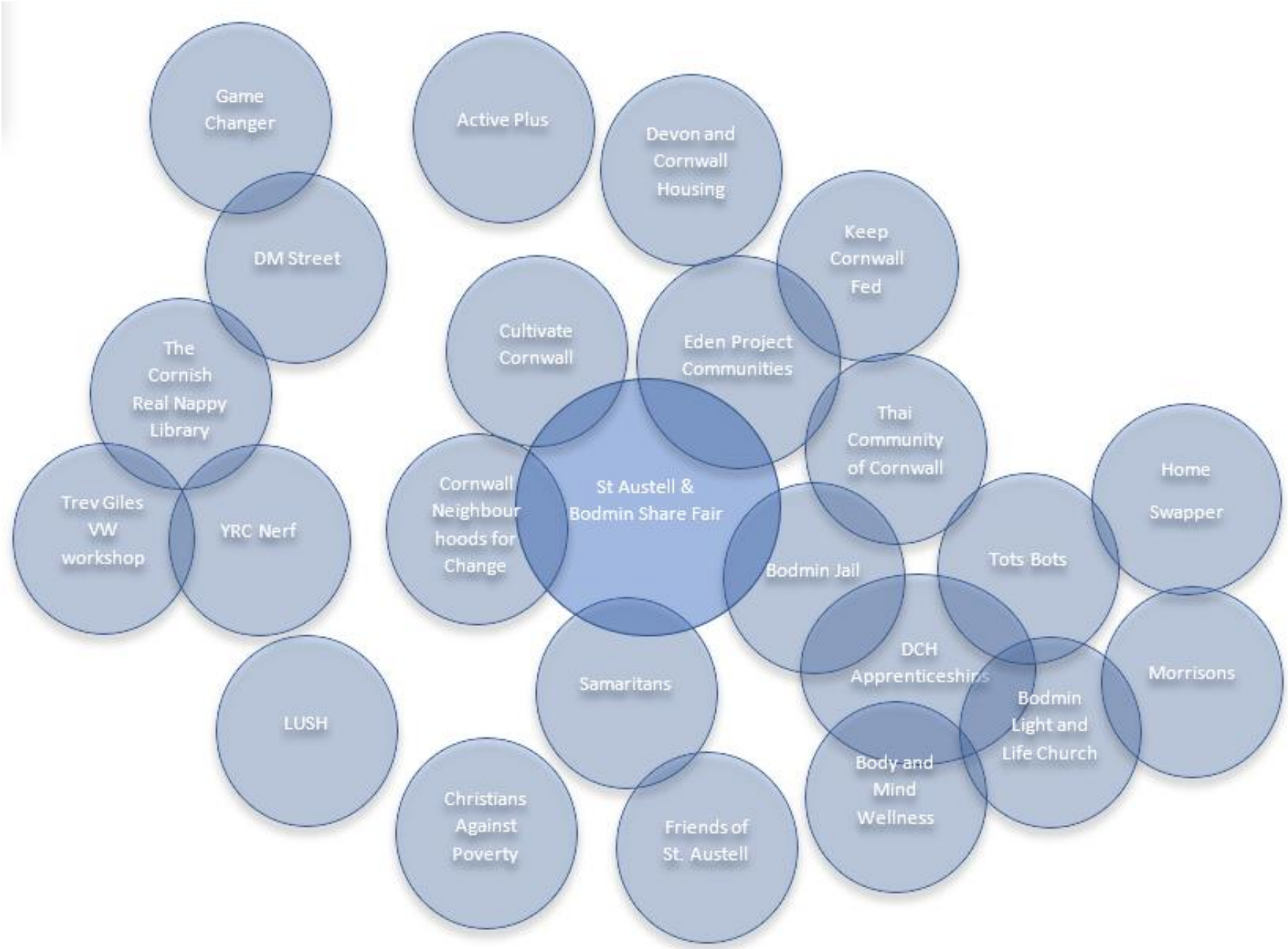


Figure 13: Interorganisational context of St Austell and Bodmin Share Fair

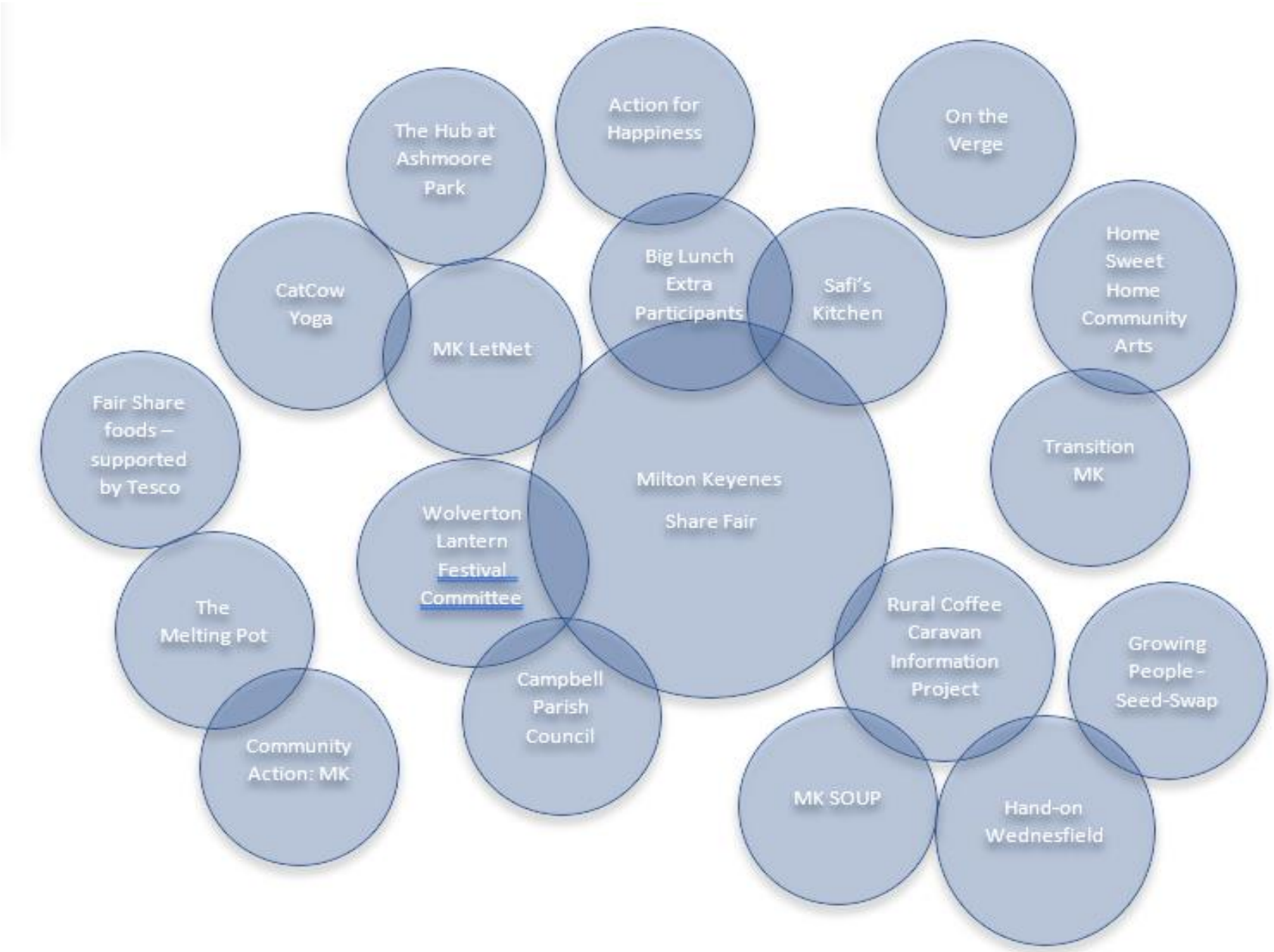


Figure 14: Interorganisational context of Milton Keynes Share Fair

4.2.4 Functioning of the project

4.2.5 Planning up to the day

The support towards planning that the organisers provided each other typically started through social media conversations or informal meetings (see Image 20)

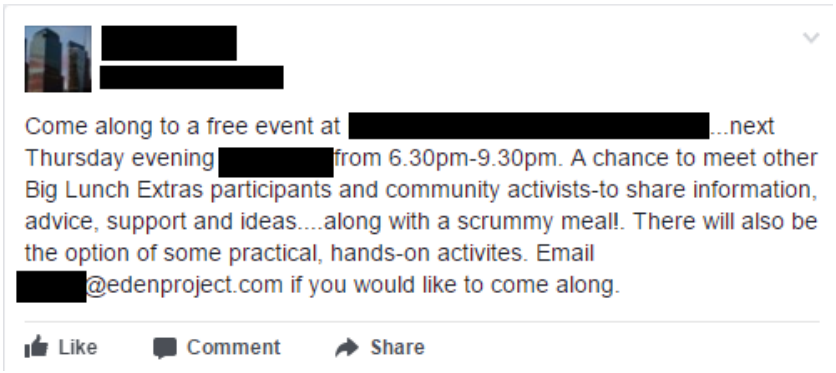


Image 20: Call for informal meetings/free events

Some of the other activities undertaken by the Eden Project Communities, which include Community Camps, The Big Lunch or regional meet and greet for participants, helped develop a similar support mechanism, while retaining a conversational, organic feel.

"When I went to a planning meeting, I thought it would be like the committee stuff, I hadn't expected to just huddle up, and food … just a get-together really, still, we ended up getting lot of stuff done"

"This [organic feel] is not something that just happens… we have worked on this over the years to get it right"

Many a times, conversations that shaped the events were not carefully coordinated, at least on the surface, but happened naturally.

"After the event, our casual stroll around the woods, which the organiser was someday hoping to convert into a community garden, suddenly turns into an informal consultation…there was advice from everyone about means, some conventional, some a lot less conventional, ways to stimulate the local community and establish her rights with respect to communal land, what evidence councils look for, how to manage legal obstacles from nearby businesses, how this could be venue for the next Share Fair[…] the discussion keeps jumping back and forth from personal to what I would say more or less professional […] parts of this talk, I would expect them to take place in legal consultants office, and perhaps to pay a hefty fee for them"

The purposefully and consciously accepted ambiguity presented significant challenges and the organisers were aware of that However, the organisers expressed the attitude that, having laid the necessary foundations, they were prepared to deal with the difficulties of unplanned situations, to 'make it up as we go', or 'wing it' in order to safeguard the flexible, adaptive nature that they feel is integral to a Share Fair. The quote below is representative of this fostered flexibility

"You have to be open to opportunities when they present themselves – be open to serendipity. Because if you have too firm a plan about what to expect, about what you want people to do, you'll miss the open doors and what's actually being offered. If you try and impose too much structure, you end up

frustrated and unable to develop the strategies for dealing with multiple communities, individuals, and organisations – and these inevitably vary greatly across different locations. Of course, it would be much more comfortable if we could plan a more knowable, predictable structure – but Share Fairs can't work that way, they have to adapt to those who show up on the day."

As such, risk tolerance was nurtured to be high

"Anything and everything can happen, it's a little scary…we have just learned to deal with it on the spot"

Material resources helped to reduce some of this uncertainty. To begin the pilot, Eden Project Communities had set funds aside and acquired marquees, flagship banners, inflatable sofas, cushions, streamers, games, and many other objects that would make the Share Fair space. The list of objects has been ever evolving and within every instance there were modifications. In terms of physical place, it is hard to identify *where* the core organising pre-event took place. For example, for Share fair in Milton Keynes, the Eden organiser acknowledges that things were soundly developing in an organic fashion at the local setting, outside of her participation or control.

"The BLE MK Massive formed a working party who volunteered their time, energy, local knowledge and contacts with local MK activists, community organisations and Campbell Parish Council (who supplied resources, funding, venue and manpower). So, while I was back at the Eden Project getting a Share Fair event kit together, the Share Fair working party were meeting weekly to get things ready."

On other hand, the local MK organiser attributes the credit to organisers from Eden.

"I ask her to explain about her involvement in the MK Share Fair. She speaks about her role being that of a supporter in providing local contacts and connections to the people on the ground but suggests that Eden, and even more so Christine, primarily drove the project. They did all the necessary planning and put things together that made the event possible. "

Is this simply modesty on organisers' part? Or a real unknown about what made the event possible? Or perhaps, and which is more likely, an understanding that there was no single causal factor but convergence of complex, dynamic events, and individual actions. Even my observations indicate a real sense of not always knowing the factors that made the event possible. It was acknowledged that the issues that the project would address were complex so the project itself would need to be complex to tackle them.

"And I also think that if it's a really good project, or it's a really good piece of theatre, from that point of view, it probably addresses a whole load of issues simultaneously. Because issues, as such, don't drop into individual boxes. They're not tidy. They tend to be mixed together. So, you know, if you've got austerity problems, you're likely to have loneliness problems, you're likely to have a lack of youth activities, etc. These things can get mashed together so finding ways that are just splendid ways of bringing communities together, generally ends up dealing with a whole load of stuff together."

Another small example that reinforces complexity is the Share Fair Handbook/kit. An idea to create a kit that could allow any person to organise and run a Share Fair was put forth to Eden organising team. However, the efforts to put together a Share Fair kit were constantly fraught with difficulty.

"I am kind of working on a handbook, which is really… Well, it gets less and less formed. It turns into just lists because I'm not getting time to actually write it."

The nature of this handbook significantly changed as the project evolved. At the beginning it was more or less a 'to do list' that would allow potential organiser to check what is possible for her/him. Later, more detailed description of Share Fair – three different types of possible share fairs – was put in, with differing ideas on how they could be organised. The people towards whom this was to be directed was not necessarily clear.

"So, at the moment I've got as far as making a kind of generic leaflet which, just because I felt that the CNDs – the Community Network Developers, within the delivery team within Eden Project Community, as we're now rebranded, are supposed to be running Share Fairs as part of their ways of galvanising, bringing our Community Camp people together. So, the idea is that I'm going to be building and putting together this handbook as much for them as for the people."

Not having a clear idea of the audience, was partially because the audience was supposed to be involved as an active participant on the stage. In a theatre play that is turned on its head, it was necessarily unclear as to who gets to write the plot. Many tools that were used to make sense of the process came from suggestions by participants, self-help books and event planning experience. Simple W questions were used to make sure all possible resources and actions are being utilised (see Image 21)

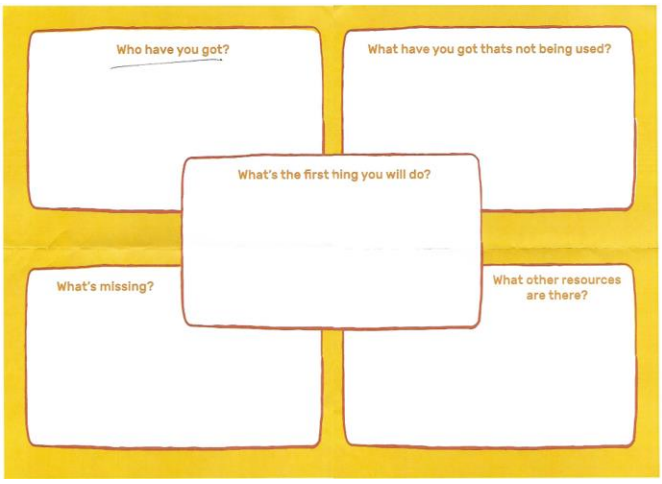


Image 21: Brainstorming tools used at organiser meeting

It was not unusual for participants to sit down and brainstorm the activities for upcoming to make rough handwritten schedules on boards/notebooks (see Image 22).

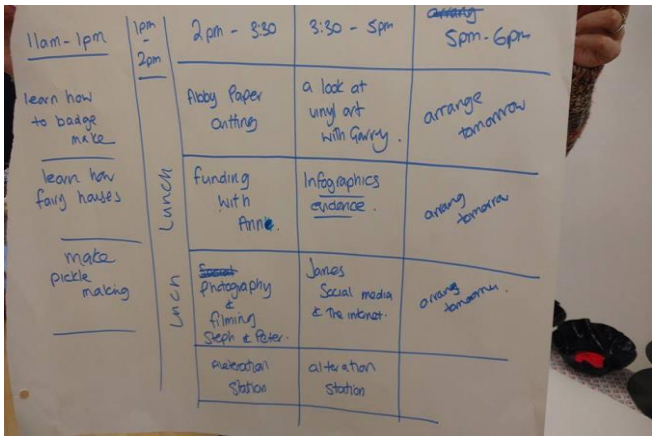


Image 22: Handwritten schedules for events

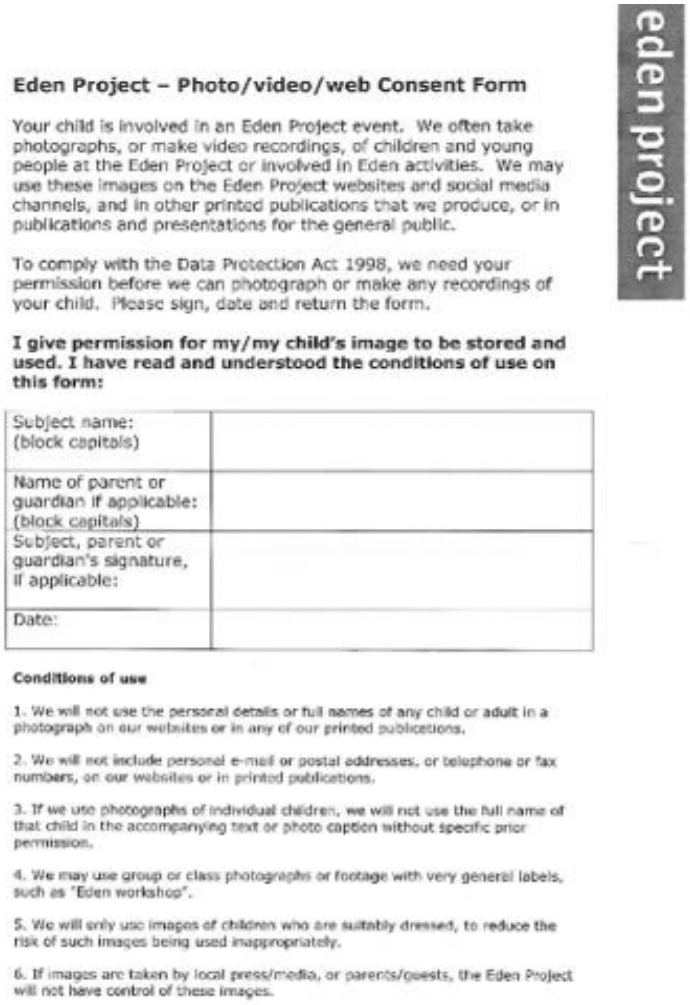
In contrast of these informal documents, there were requirements for formalised documentation that core organisers were responsible for. I rarely came across these during planning or implementation phase but shall discuss a few that had a minor impact. Abiding with Data Protection Act 1998, it was necessary to inform the participants and to acquire their permission for photographs to be used. In the early iterations of the event, this was done through one-on-one dialogue with participants. At fourth iteration of Share Fair, to make sure this message was communicated well enough to everyone, laminated notices (see Image 23) were put on. Those who would rather not be included in were given a choice to let organisers know.

Image 23: Photography and filming notices at event premises

At a later iteration (exact date unsure) a consent form (see Image 24) was introduced for parents whose children were being photographed. This was introduced because without the formal consent, organisers were unable to use a lot of the pictures. The photographer as well as organisers would let the parents know that such was the case and get them to sign the consent form. This was also posted over Facebook event pages.

"On Sunday, during the event, there will be a lot of photos taken. In fact, we actively encourage it especially if you upload them to social media with the aim of showing others what fun you are having. It is a public event that will be held in a public space. If you do not wish to have your photos taken, then please let it be known to any of the organisers – J__ L__ and L__ C__ and we point you out to our team of photographers, so they try not to include you if this is your wish. However, there will be others there that will be taking pictures that we cannot control as it is in a public place. Sorry if this causes any concern."

The ways in which interactions around such artefacts were shaped were not different from the manner in which my typical access attempts occurred at Share fair (see section 3.4.1). The communal, friendly interaction was stressed, formality was pushed back, and organiser explicitly and implicitly referred to making use of aspects like informed consent with 'common sense'.



Eden Project – Photo/video/web Consent Form

eden project

Your child is involved in an Eden Project event. We often take photographs, or make video recordings, of children and young people at the Eden Project or involved in Eden activities. We may use these images on the Eden Project websites and social media channels, and in other printed publications that we produce, or in publications and presentations for the general public.

To comply with the Data Protection Act 1998, we need your permission before we can photograph or make any recordings of your child. Please sign, date and return the form.

I give permission for my/my child's image to be stored and used. I have read and understood the conditions of use on this form:

Subject name: (block capitals)	
Name of parent or guardian if applicable: (block capitals)	
Subject, parent or guardian's signature, if applicable:	
Date:	

Conditions of use

1. We will not use the personal details or full names of any child or adult in a photograph on our websites or in any of our printed publications.

2. We will not include personal e-mail or postal addresses, or telephone or fax numbers, on our websites or in printed publications.

3. If we use photographs of individual children, we will not use the full name of that child in the accompanying text or photo caption without specific prior permission.

4. We may use group or class photographs or footage with very general labels, such as "Eden workshop".

5. We will only use images of children who are suitably dressed, to reduce the risk of such images being used inappropriately.

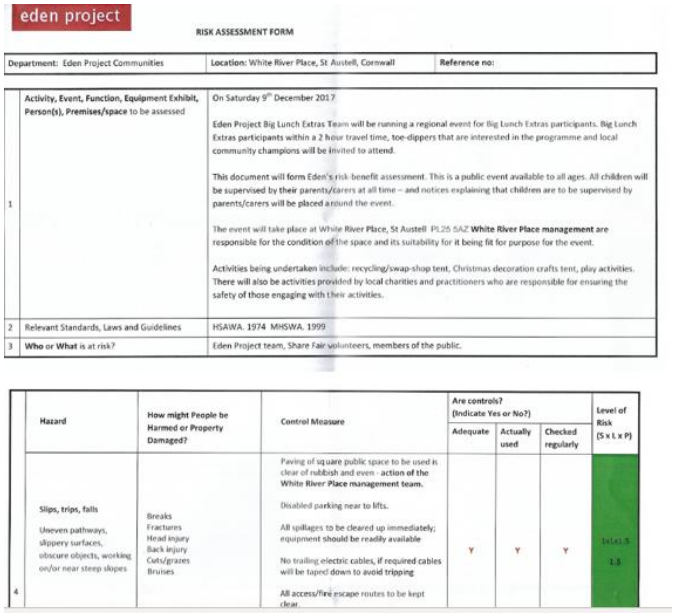
6. If images are taken by local press/media, or parents/guests, the Eden Project will not have control of these images.

Image 24: Eden Consent form

At one of the Share Fair attended, I was handed a risk assessment form (see Image 25). There was cordial humour around how "of course, this was done for every single event so far!" Again, the manner in which such documentation was enforced was similar to the utilising of the other formalised means of organising– sensible but not conforming to rigidity or to-the-word legality, but rather drawing on the common sense, always keeping the artefact in the background, never at forefront and entwined with positive aspects of interaction. This logic was also visible in the Facebook updates that cautioned people to be sensible.

"The sun will shine ... I know it's a rare occurrence this time of year but please ... slip slap slop ... Get that sun cream out!! Put on those shades and don that hat !! it's going to be gorgeous!! Parents ... You are responsible for your children. I am quite sure everyone will look out for them and their safety but please be careful. There is water there which is only shallow but still a risk ... I have been working with the council regarding previous problems of sharps in the park and the site will be walked before the event. We will check but if we miss anything then please let us know so we can get it dealt with. Your safety is paramount to us. The day is about re connecting our community and sharing."

It was not uncommon for organisers to discuss and support each other in completion of formal documents. Again, these interactions used social media quite heavily.



eden project

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

Department: Eden Project Communities	Location: White River Place, St Austell, Cornwall	Reference no:

1	**Activity, Event, Function, Equipment Exhibit, Person(s), Premises/space** to be assessed	On Saturday 9th December 2017 Eden Project Big Lunch Extras Team will be running a regional event for Big Lunch Extras participants. Big Lunch Extras participants within a 2 hour travel time, toe-dippers that are interested in the programme and local community champions will be invited to attend. This document will form Eden's risk-benefit assessment. This is a public event available to all ages. All children will be supervised by their parents/carers at all time – and notices explaining that children are to be supervised by parents/carers will be placed around the event. The event will take place at White River Place, St Austell PL25 5AZ. **White River Place management** are responsible for the condition of the space and its suitability for it being fit for purpose for the event. Activities being undertaken include: recycling/swap-shop tent, Christmas decoration crafts tent, play activities. There will also be activities provided by local charities and practitioners who are responsible for ensuring the safety of those engaging with their activities.
2	Relevant Standards, Laws and Guidelines	HSAWA. 1974 MHSWA. 1999
3	**Who or What** is at risk?	Eden Project team, Share Fair volunteers, members of the public.

	Hazard	How might People be Harmed or Property Damaged?	Control Measure	Are controls? (Indicate Yes or No?) Adequate	Actually used	Checked regularly	Level of Risk (S x L x P)
4	Slips, trips, falls Uneven pathways, slippery surfaces, obscure objects, working on/or near steep slopes	Breaks Fractures Head injury Back injury Cuts/grazes Bruises	Paving of square public space to be used is clear of rubbish and even - **action of the White River Place management team.** Disabled parking near to lifts. All spillages to be cleared up immediately; equipment should be readily available No trailing electric cables, if required cables will be taped down to avoid tripping All access/Fire escape routes to be kept clear.	Y	Y	Y	1x1x1.5 1.5

Image 25: Risk Assessment for St Austell Share Fair December 2017

Social media also played an important role in marketing and advertising. Feedback on social media was monitored wherever possible and used as evidence.

"She showed me how this works roughly and how much money she had spent, which if I remember correctly, was £24.60. And after paying that amount, Facebook allows the Share Fair page to be shown as a sponsored ad in people's feeds. And what you can do is you can track the number of people that then engaged with the feed that was showing on their wall, the posts that were showing on their feeds. So, there's a number of statistics that were available as to 101 engagements, or 702 people have seen this, and things like that. So, that was visible evidence for monitoring of the social media response."

There were of course, other means of advertising used besides social media. Christine, alongside Eden's graphic design department, designed a pamphlet for the event, which went through a number of modifications as the Share Fairs progressed (see Image 26)

Image 26: Modifications to Share Fair pamphlet

Local organisers managed their own means of advertisements. The venue in St Austell, White River Mall, managed the distribution of pamphlets with the outlets that they had. A local radio interview of Christine, through a connection J____, was also used to promote Share Fair. M___ and R___, for organising of the Share Fair in Stanford Le Hope, did a house-to-house pamphlet drop. In Milton Keynes, the Paris Council took on the responsibility of distributing the pamphlet at key locations. H___ managed to get the local radio for an interview as well as a reporter to cover the Share Fair story in a local newspaper (see Image 27). As said before, the resource acquisition for all activities was rather organic and situational.

News

30th May 2017

Share Fair returns to St Lawrence

By Joshua Searle

Share Fair returns to village for second helping

0 comment

A MARKET without money is returning to St Lawrence for its second outing.

The share fair, which sees residents swap items that are no longer wanted for other items, skills or stories, is returning to Jubilee Field, St Lawrence, on Sunday, June 25 between noon and 4pm.

Image 27: Modified clipping from local newspaper article - Share Fair

4.2.6 Performing on the day

The aim of the activities on the day was simple, first, to transform the place through Share Fair set up (see Image 28).

Image 28: Premises before and after the setup of Share Fair

Image 29 below provides a sense of a typical set up and environment created within the Share Fairs. On the actual day of Share Fairs, the participating organisations and individuals would come together and similar to a market or bazaar, set up their areas in the Share Fair space. As stated before, the participation varied widely; it could be through sharing skills and stories from individuals (origami, face painting, musical instrument lessons, stone balancing, bubble making), small local businesses (car maintenance demonstration, yoga class demonstrations, herbal teas, handcrafted jewellery making, bouncy castles), local charities (Timebanks, Mobile information centres, Charity shops), community organisations (local NHS, PTA) or various other organised activities (recycling through Swap and Share for clothes or furniture, plants or seed sharing, arts and crafts, kids play area). The event was meant to nurture and strengthen community ties rather than merely promote non-monetary exchange, which implied going beyond the abovementioned activities to nurture relational aspects.

Image 29: Representative photographs of set-up from different Share Fairs

At the beginning of the day a quick discussion ensured that the specific tasks were allocated to individuals. Over time, the core organisers were fairly familiar with what needed to be done on the day of the Share Fairs. The set up for the tents and creating empty areas which the organisations could use for the setup of the activities was the first thing that needed to be completed. Once this was done then the signposting for the event through making of flags, writing on chalkboards, creating laminated signs, and other necessary artefacts were put in place. The new participants were looked after. Their requirements were considered, and space was allocated for participants/organisations to set up their

areas. All of the Share Fairs had a swap area which consisted of clothes, household items, books, games etc. that were available for anyone to either swap for any of their items or to simply take. One of the tents was always allocated for these. One other tent was usually set up for crafting skills. This would include activities like knitting, felt decorations or badge making. Further, there was also an area allocated for conversations. Such 'place making' through materials heavily made Share Fair, which meant it was necessary having the objects that transformed the given area into a Share Fair. The choice of objects and their specific arrangement was also significant. A strong emphasis was placed on creating 'circles of conversation' and ensuring 'flow' through the objects that are 'inviting' rather than limiting participation. A large middle tent with sofas was set aside for people to sit down and converse, and even within different instances, while the objects signify personalisation to each local area, there is also visible attempt to retain Share Fair-ness (see Image 30)

Image 30: Differences between the two Share Fair set ups

The different types of activities that would be performed on the day were indicated on Share Fair flags (see Image 31) in the pamphlet. This was not fixed however, on the day itself, these simply translated into numerous possibilities for what could be done.

Image 31: Activities indicated on Share Fair flags

"We had clothes swapping and swishing, toy swapping, seed swapping, book exchange, crochet lessons, yoga taster sessions, jam and pickle swaps, live music, herbal tea tasting (which was a very delicious experience by the way) we had a fire pit and someone teaching rocket stove building, we had stone balancing and giant bubble blowing, we had hula hooping and giant Jenga, we had fairy house creating and face painting"

"There was so much to do on the day apart from pick up some free goodies like the seeds, teas, clothes and books on offer. We had yoga, Giant Jenga, a ball pool, a craft tent, herbal remedies, live music, face painting, skill swaps and best of all giant bubbles!"

While the space was created with a sense of direction or flow in mind, the actual choices of how or what it gets used for were flexible. Materials used for certain purposes in one instance could very easily be re-purposed for another in next instance of Share Fare. The logic of 'figure it out for yourself' is quite evident from seemingly small and insignificant things.

"So, we have an idea where things go, what packaging we use for that. But that doesn't mean that things don't get changed. We have been continuously shifting water weight bases in different materials, most of the times we'll keep them on their own. For the last few times we had used big plastic bags doubled up to put them in, but they keep breaking. So today we used big Tesco bags to put three of them in. So, things have changed slightly but at the same time they remain the same. There's an idea to just try to make sense of "okay, let's just see what works, what doesn't work." So, the water bases were heavy to carry, we couldn't empty all the water out of it, and they keep sliding around in the back of the van. So, we needed particular material to carry them and we worked it out by trial and error and now that's the standard way."

"Co___ saw how thing were when she asked me to teach him how to set the flagpoles up, and this time she had brought the new bases for the tents and they couldn't be put on because they didn't go very nicely with the other stuff. We ended up using the typical bases and tied them using the guy rope. And there were changes to be made throughout the organising process. We decided to not use the frame ropes that add the structural integrity to the tents. The set up was to happen over concrete rather than garden soil, so people might have tripped over them. But in terms of how things should be done, a lot of it was still to be figured out in the time, right when we were actually doing the stuff."

Planning performed before the event definitely allowed a starting point. Organisers would use rough sketches or maps to draft their idea of what the event place would look like (see Image 32). Then execution for the day activities was performed in the moment using resources available at hand.

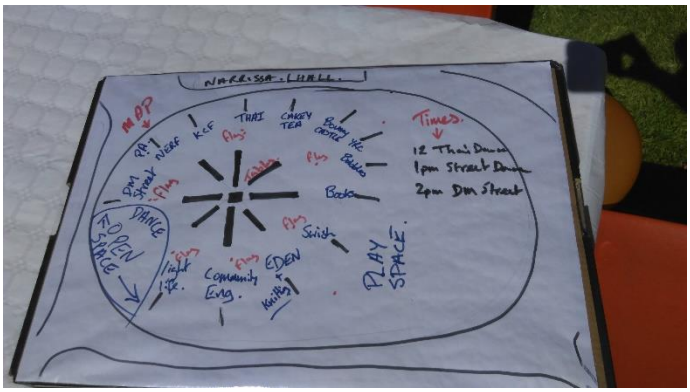


Image 32: Hand drawn maps for the stalls set up at Share Fair

Areas were usually set up for kids to do arts and craft, badge or bracelet making, face painting, etc. A gaming area was allocated most times. Slates and sign board were used to indicate names for such areas. The discussions that took place between the participants revolved around arrangement of objects or their naming. As much as this discussion is part of the wider idea of 'place making', the

decisions around the micro elements like colours or names given to the areas also signify an understanding of the essence of Share Fair

"These are okay, but I want to use some in the other box, I feel like those are more the colours of Share Fair"

"Yes, but we also have colours of our [name of the place] mixed in with Share Fair colours, did you think that was quite clear?"

"Do you reckon Chatter Natter [as a name for the activity] sounds better? I don't know what fits better with Share Fair character"

Next, and perhaps most importantly, participating people and their actions were constitutive of Share Fair. It is 'who' was there (or not there) that very strongly shaped 'what' Share Fair became; the key actors who took lead in shaping this micro-culture i.e., people who are physically/virtually present and engaged. While no defined responsibility was attributed to organisers, typically they would volunteer to teach skills, perform tasks in the set-up phase as well as ensured that the others had the means to participate by doing the activities they had volunteered to do.

"Later in the day I managed to sit down with D___ and learned some origami (a tulip and a box). Practicing teaching was one of his motivations in attending Share Fair. The indication to take part in MKFS to impart a skill (which was agreed over the MKFS Facebook page) was accommodated by the organisers quite quickly. Christine designated a place for him by the bonfire and made a quick sign using the wooden stick pole, slate, and chalk. She talked it up by informing multiple people that the activity is going to take place. She also offered him material, but he had brought his own. "

The set up for the day would typically begin around 7.30 am. This was adjusted to accommodate the amount that people/organisations that had indicated they would participate. The Share Fairs typically ran from 11 am till 4 pm, some iterations varying by a couple of hours. The expectation of the organisers was to have the set up completed and areas for the tasks ready for Share Fairers before indicated timing. However, many of the participants were organisers themselves and were involved in the set up/packing up process. The organisers had developed a routine to ensure checking on one another to make sure that they do not get so immersed as to not have any comfort breaks.

Once the set up was completed, the organisers would try and engage with participants/passers-by. For someone who is participating for the first time, the discussion would revolve around explaining the initiative as well as trying to understand what made them interested enough to take part. Discussions within Share Fair consisted of small talk, with most organisers being intent on understanding participant views about the project or social causes being worked in the local areas. In the initial stages of the project, the discussions were focused on asking the feedback in an evaluative manner. Towards the later stages of the project, organisers were more interested in understanding whether the participants would be able or willing to run a Share Fair of their own and enabling them to do so.

Some of the Share Fairs were set up with a tentative activity schedule (see Image 33). The activities such as yoga classes, information session on bees, story time would take place either in the central area in the middle of the tents or in the centre tent allocated for conversations and gatherings.

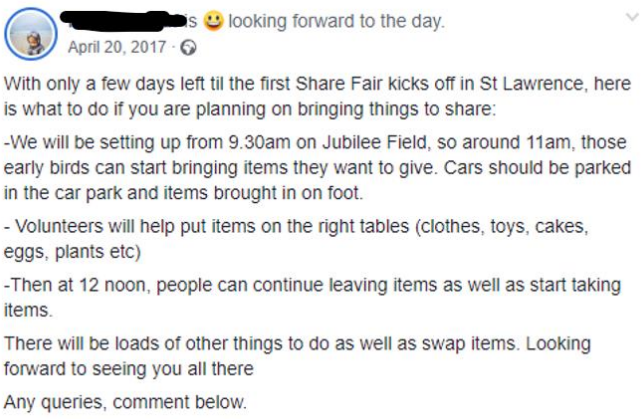


Image 33: Tentative activity schedules shared on Facebook

The unpacking and storage would take roughly an hour and a half after the event. Organisers were responsible to make the arrangements to manage the leftover materials of Share Fair. Some exceptions to these were items like furniture, which would have to be taken back by participants if they were not swapped. In some similar events like 'Really Really Free Market' all the items leftover from the event were donated to charities and each iteration started from complete scratch. The set up and packing was menial tiring work, involving making tents, moving desks around to create stalls, decorations, and organising of the materials on offer for swap.

"At the end of the day, we clear away the area. Tents become dismantled, banners come down, sofas lose their shape as air is forced out and find themselves folded into neat stacks, gaming materials is tidied and sorted, drawing materials finds its way into boxes. Everything is packed, sorted, and transported. All the liveliness, laughter and hustle-bustle softly fade into silence. An empty space where we began is left for emptiness once more."

4.2.7 Following up

The after event follow up was not a massive part of Share Fair organising process, however, there was a significant emphasis of generating feedback as the event was progressing. One of the core reasons for implementing the projects was to apply for further funding from National Lottery Community Fund, which would facilitate expansion of the project. This meant that a justification in form of participant views was required to be consolidated – qualitative or quantitative. For funding purposes, the feedback collected in a quantitative manner was considered more impactful, but given the nature of the project, this was considerably difficult. There were disagreements on the nature of feedback that should be collected from the participants and the means towards which they could be used. The person responsible for collecting and assessing this feedback from Eden Project, had prepared a list of six questions. In Share Fairs that he attended he would interview the participants using these questions. However, the conversations that came out of this kind of interview were rather limited. Some of the questions were deemed leading by other organisers and could be answered with one-word response. At times, they did not necessarily capture the complexity of the Share Fair.

Besides such interviews, an A2 sized black bound unlined feedback book was used to offer the participants a chance to write down about their experiences. What should be written in the book - the guiding questions - were explained by a nearby organiser. Participants would typically follow the format the previous people had followed. The responses in the feedback book focused on the overall feel, colourful/joyful nature of the event, family friendly setting, inviting aspects and further discussions of how such communal space was particularly useful. A number of interviews with local

organisers were also conducted by Eden; I was interviewed for the same purpose as well. Perhaps most effectively used means of feedback, and also the most common were one-to-one conversations that the organisers had with participants. These experiential bites filtered into a lot of the feedback which was consolidated for the funding applications. I was often asked to disseminate any useful information/findings that my participation as a researcher produced.

Image 34: Appreciation messages towards participants- Hardie Park Share Fair

In terms of after-event follow up, social media was extensively used to show appreciation. Detailed messages thanking all of the organisers, volunteers, participating organisations and contributors were posted by the core organising team on Facebook and Twitter (see Image 34 and Image 35). However, it was equally common to get messages from the participants showing their appreciation on event page (see Image 35). The after event follow up was not only from organiser to participant but from participant to organisers as well.

Image 35: Messages of appreciation from participants - Bodmin Share Fair

Another aspect of the follow up process was to manage the emotions and expectations. Organisers had to manage their anxiety and did not have any assurances for how the event would turn out. For organisers who have been doing for multiple years, there was overt awareness of what that implied in terms of evaluating or following up on the success of event.

"And you have to learn there is a point in the process… In the doing of those community events. In order to make something marvellous happen. There's a point where you go, you have to kind of go, it's going to amazing, we're going to have this, we're going to do that. And in your head, you can go [squealing]. And then there is a point at the point of actually doing where you go and now it will be what it will be. And you have to let all of that go. Because that was only useful in getting you to a certain stage. And I think people who aren't used to doing it, continue to compare what actually happens with what they've had in their heads before. And then they don't let that go. And then they go, oh but this didn't happen and that didn't happen. And you're going whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, you have to look at what did happen."

Through the discussions of 'what we achieved' after event, either in person, through emails or social media the organisers provided emotional and moral support to one another to continue undertaking collaborative work. The next section outlines some tales of collaborative work, build through immersion in both of the collaborative projects I have written about above, which should give the reader some additional insight into the 'happenings' of this collaborative work.

4.3 Tales of collaborative work

Stories are memory aids, instruction manuals and moral compasses

- Alex Krotosky

As stated in the introductory section of this chapter, the fragments of data that I present in this section are purposefully kept raw, without extensive underpinning or imposition of analysis. And yet, they do form an answer to my core research question 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' as a situated description. For each vignette below, I offer a short-summarised heading to put them in context. While I do not attempt to systematically connect these to my description in the previous sections, they are indeed necessary to show the nuance of the collaborative work as they outline the *particular* as well as *peculiar* of day-to-day of collaborative work; I connect this *particular* with the *general* of the collaborative work later (see section 5.4). For this, these tales act as the folklore, as the white noise in the background, sometimes as the necessary nonsense or the fragments of chaos and randomness that just exists as part of a complex picture of collaborative organising that I am attempting to recreate in my ethnographic narrative.

A STORY OF CHANGING ASSUMPTIONS

"This bloke kind of came by on a bicycle and he looked really shifty. And I was looking out at him and thinking, I'm wondering what your drugs are, I'm guessing Largactyl, because there was something about his behaviour that wasn't completely… And he… He kind of… Was obviously kind of interested but wasn't quite sure.

And I said, do you want to know what we're doing? And he said, yes, yes, I do. So, I went through and told him about it, and he went, "Okay, that's quite… That's quite good, isn't it? Yes, no, I quite like that,

yes. Yes. I haven't got anything though" … So, I said, that's okay. Do you see those magazines and those books over there? Help yourself. He went, "what, I can just take one? I said yes, just help yourself. They've been donated so" … Right, well that's… but he didn't take one and he just rode off.

And I thought, oh well, you know, good enough. And about an hour or so later, he came back with a book. I said, okay. That's really nice of you, how lovely. Definitely, please swap. And he went "it's a good book." I said, I don't doubt it. He said, "I wouldn't mind finishing it." And I said, if it's the book you're reading, you don't have to give us that, that's… And I said, you know, really, any book would have done.

He went, "oh no, no, no." I mean that would have just been flight of him, wouldn't it? No, he needed to give me back something that meant something. And so, he did. He gave us this book and I wasn't not going to receive it then, was I? And he went and chose another one. And I just found that encounter very special … He'd recognised that it was valuable. That there was a value in what was being swapped. There was a value in the swapping, not in the things necessarily. And also, I kind of like reckoned he was not the kind of chap who normally got involved in things because there was a cynicism and a fear there in the first place. So, I thought that was really interesting. Made me rethink about my first impressions."

A PROJECT THAT IS ALSO GOOD FOR ME

She started to talk about her diary of loneliness, moving into a neighbourhood as a mum with a young kid. She had no friends, no-one there, so she started going into mother and toddler groups. There still was not really a connection until at one point someone just came up to her and said, 'Hey, hi, how are you?' From that small interactions she made some friends. And together, they started the project - slowly and over time through the work they did for project, they became very close friends. Then she spoke about how such work had this emotional effect on her. She fell in love with the cooking, and the interactions that she had had with the people, she said they're pulling their tooth out every time they're trying to get people to come up and then ask for money but the fight for this stuff is really great because it has helped her in overcoming her loneliness that she started with. It's not necessarily the benefit for the community or the benefit for the funders that she was focused on but the benefit for herself.

MAKING UNLIKELY CONNECTIONS

T: Let's say you've got someone a little bit older who don't want to go to some of the music that we have been putting on and the younger kids would probably don't want to drink a cup of tea in a church with older people so ...so once again we have this networking aspect for older people in the church. I hate to generalise…

A: I think it makes sense though. I suppose you organise the things then keeping the different kind of audience in your mind

T: Well yes and also for a bit of a crossover as well. I have made friends from a certain sector of society. I'm not very religious but some of the people that work with Guildford People for People are very deeply religious and from different religious backgrounds as well. So, we wouldn't have met or have mixed in a different environment. But now we've got a shared common ground, so we can get on very well. There's a really good friend of mine, D____, deeply Christian… don't think I would've ever met her. She's very, sort of, involved in church. That's her life. I never go to church and I don't think our paths would have ever crossed. But we are chatting to each other every 3 days now, really firm friends. So, you know that's one of the upsides of it.

SMALL CHANGES TO MAKE A HUMANE DIFFERENCE

In September I chose to go to Greece to volunteer with CalAid. I initially went for two months but ended up staying until March. Together we worked across about 15 or 16 camps in one region serving the needs of about 3000 refugees. And we became the sole distributor for what's called NFI items which is non-foods, so clothing and hygiene. Some charities are sort of content with just making sure that people have the bare necessities which they need, which is understandable. But we tried to make sure when we distributed, we did so with dignity.

So, rather than just do what's done before, we decided against a line distribution where an entire camp would line up and just be given clothes whether or not they fitted them. We designed a pop-up shop system. So, when we return to a camp, we would make a shop. Clothes are on rails and there'll be a choice. And then everyone would be able to come in and spend as long as they liked choosing so they could not just have clothes that fitted them. And while functional, these are clothes they actually like and are happy to go away with. Which is always a really nice moment for distribution when someone thanks you. They've taken something willingly that before they would have just been given.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE AS A SHARED BOND

Around 8:30, I was taking a break back up in the Green Room. At that point I was exhausted and started taking things really slowly. When I went in, I wasn't sure as to what conversation was happening, but N___ was consoling C___ in a discreet manner, and I saw C___ wiping her tears. So, at that point, apparently due to the lack of people at the event… because not enough people had shown up, she had become very emotional and was basically feeling very frustrated.

Possibly she was thinking that we are going to be running the event at a loss, that we may not have enough money. There may not be anything left to send to the charities. And I am not entirely sure what she was feeling, but the sentiment seemed to be that she did not do enough, she did not manage to pull off a really good event as they had the last time. I offered her some consoling words as well; I did a little bit. But I had not expected the event to have that level of emotional impact on her.

And then this sort interaction kept repeating itself in different places. Every now and then, I would see N___ and S___ exchanging some looks. Once, they had a long sad hug. I would catch their expression every now and then and it would seem as if they were not very happy. But when other people were asking, obviously she was smiling and putting on a brave face. T___ seemed upset as well, but he didn't really show it very overtly. He kind of held himself together.

THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES AND FISHES

"Where does all this come from?" a woman asked, gesturing at all the items, so many that I was racing just to hang them all.

I was wondering the same thing, but I told her what I knew. "They're all gifts. People bring it in as they come by to visit."

"I know," she said, "but where does all the stuff come from to start with? At the beginning of the market?"

It was a good question. There was so much there, never a shortage, how did the organisers know the plenty would come? And what if it didn't?

I gave her the theory that I'd worked out so far. "I'm not sure, but the Market has storage space. We might keep things from the end of the last market to put out at the beginning of the next one-"

Thankfully, I was interrupted by a more experienced volunteer. "No, we don't hold anything after the market, everything gets donated after it's over. Every item here was given today. Before the market opens people come by and drop stuff off. There's always enough."

As I heard that, the story of the miracle of the loaves and fishes came to mind. I grew up Catholic and it was one of my favourite stories in Sunday School. For those who don't know, Jesus is talking to a large crowd of people who have followed him out to the middle of nowhere. It's getting late and Jesus' followers are getting antsy because they're about to have a big, hungry crowd on their hands and there's nothing to eat. They want to send the crowd away, but Jesus is like, 'No that's ridiculous, I brought food with me, bring them that.' And the followers bring out the two fishes and five loaves of barley bread that they'd brought with them. And even though they think Jesus is crazy they start splitting it up and sharing the food. At the end of the meal, they pass baskets around to collect the leftovers, and incredibly there are seven baskets of bread and fish that come back, and everyone is well fed. It's impossible!

I guess the point of that story is supposed to be that Jesus created a miracle, but somewhere along the way I got another story inside my head. I'd always thought that the miracle was somewhat metaphorical, that it was a miracle of generosity. When Jesus stepped forward and gave everything he had away, it inspired other people to give what they had too, and throughout the crowd everyone who had food squirrelled away brought it out and shared it around. And when people gave freely, there was so much plenty that there were literal baskets of leftovers! On the first Saturday of every month another miracle happens. We all say that we're going to give our things freely and it brings such generosity that every time, without a plan, and without a fallback, a market springs up out of nowhere, literally overflowing with beautiful, wonderful, and useful things. No one goes wanting, and afterwards, there are baskets of leftovers.

NOT THE OUTCOME BUT THE WORK

The story that T___ told of one of the Big Lunch Extras was that there was a group that were trying to organise a Big Lunch and they decided that they would do these activities. He went and gathered some of the neighbours, a thing that he had never done before. He said, 'I used my kids, to send them off and knock on the doors and get people to come and talk to us.' They were trying to decide what will happen if it rains, who will bring what, and these discussions carried over coffees or meetings at someone's house over two or three weeks.

Apparently, at one point in the discussion, someone said that 'What happens if it rains? What happens if we are never able to do this thing? On the day, what if something goes wrong?" One of the ladies remarked that, 'You know what, even if the event itself doesn't happen, the last three weeks have been enough for me. Being together with everyone and planning itself has been a great experience.' He spoke of that as an Eden moment for him. This story stuck with him because it's not necessarily the actual event that made the most sense to the person, but rather the process that was leading up to it, it was the build-up. He spoke about this in quite some detail. It was what the invisible stuff was coming from this, in the sense that Big Lunch Extra is funded by National Lottery Community. Not because they want to fund people to meet in the street and have a party. Once the neighbours get to know each other, then certain negative aspects start reducing in size. He spoke about the fear being reduced. If you know your neighbours, you feel safer within your neighbourhoods. The isolation becomes less.

People start referring to 'living in communities' or 'living in an area' rather than living in 'my house.' He spoke about belonging; these invisible things that came up from just having organised something small like this.

STRENGTH OF CONNECTIONS TOWARDS ACHIEVING GOALS

They went to local community and police meetings. This is a place where local police share crime stats with people and, through discussion with everyone, decided the priorities for police work. J___ said that everyone who went to these meetings was elderly and some 'jaws were dropped' when a young couple like him and his wife got involved. With police departments permission they started tweeting the discussions of the meeting. He said that this increased the participation from community, specifically the younger audience. These people would tweet back questions to the police dept and he would convey them verbally in the meeting on the spot. The police loved it.

He said that such forms of involvement were on-going and slowly as he became more prominent (in his work as a volunteer) he and his wife were asked to become members of the Ashmoore Park Community Action Committee. This continued…flash forward to 2012 and some interesting development happened. The council needed to cut back some costs and hence decided to combine a few of their activities/buildings.

At this point the area had a library, a community centre and youth centre. The plan was to move these buildings together in one. J___ was quite happy with this proposal. The building that they had for community centre at the time was falling apart and, in his description, 'quite beyond repair', unless a very expensive overhaul was conducted. He saw this as a great opportunity to get a new and better start for the community centre. He put these people together.

The community members started working together with library representatives, youth group members, volunteer sector representatives and council to actively take part in the design and development process of the Hub. He said that unlike many other council projects, which show public engagement only on paper (he gave an example of how the council would put the information about the upcoming projects on their websites for 10 days and then tick the box of having informed the general public), this project has actual grassroot involvement. The groups mentioned before held numerous meetings, collaborated with architects, made joint decisions on design, and gave inputs and ideas. They picked things like layout, colour of the wall and carpet, making the project truly 'their own'.

FRUSTRATED BY REGULATIONS

J____ spoke about an art project that HoW undertook. Under article 16, whenever council sells some land, a part of the money is expected to be spent on a community initiative. Accordingly, the council sold an area for shipping containers and this transaction generated a £35k that needed to be spent on 'art for community'. He said that such projects are almost never successful and 9 out of 10 people end up hating the art that is created. HoW wanted to make sure that this was not the case this time. They also knew that they did not have the expertise in arts. So, they asked for help. They worked with a number of local groups and contracted some talented artists for crating sculptures. The statues created were loved by people as they came from their input. Now, they needed to be installed in 5 locations. These locations were also owned by the council. However, when HoW presented the idea of installing the statues by digging holes in this area (which comprised of a park and one other field) council created a number of ridiculous barriers. He was quite ecstatic when describing the scenario and he found it frustrating as well as hilarious. The project belonged to council, the statues were created by artists and paid for from the council money. The place of installation was also owned by council, but to install

these statues they were asking HoW to pay for permissions and maintenance. This delayed the work by over one year. Frustrated with this HoW organised a meeting and told them that they would drop whole the idea. Threatened with such measure, in the end, they did not have pay for it, but this was an exercise in futility. On other hand through the project the artists made connections with locals and when Sainsburys needed some artwork done, they were able to land a job.

DREAMS USED TO SUBSTANTIATE NORMS

"And so, when we were looking for scissors, she gave me her backpack, in which she had put the scissors and the sticky googly eyes and some of the forks that she was going to use to make the pomanders. Now she had managed to get the previously made pomanders and cloves, but had forgotten to bring oranges, and she went around looking for that, and left the satchel with me. The reason that she had done this (securing forks and scissors in satchel), she told me that "I had this premonition of… that someone's going to impale themselves on the scissors." Now, I didn't quite believe this. I mean, I think that this was the first event for which, as far as I know, she'd done a thorough health and safety assessment. Now putting scissors on the table where kids would be all around would… that presents itself as a big risk issue. Having realised this, probably she changed the way that this was happening previously (by now keeping the scissors safe in a small satchel that is always carried by the organiser). But I suppose that doesn't seem to be a very acceptable reason to give to someone who is doing a research on the project. So perhaps I get told a story about having a premonition … someone harming themselves, an emotional reason might be more acceptable. This was somewhat obvious with our later interaction when she was visibly upset when I forgot the satchel with scissors in the tent. Also, she told me that we specifically don't want this to happen when the bosses are coming to see it."

WARMTH OF THE COMMUNAL TO COMBAT LONELINESS

So, M___ spoke about how her husband left her a few months ago with her and the baby and a three-bedroom house to take care of. Now she doesn't have a job, but she was saying that 'this is my full-time job, my kid is my full-time day job. It's my full-time night job and I don't have anything else to kind of lean on'. And she said that she's been doing some other work around packed furniture, it's some sort of self-employment thing that she does where she makes some stuff to sell. And she said that she doesn't even have time to do that anymore, she wanted to do more... And this became apparent later as well, she wanted to do more studying. And what she was saying is that basically if I don't do well, my car's going to be repossessed, the house is going to be repossessed and I have this issue of debt and I have all these things happening.

C____ did her part in suggesting that have you spoken to any debt counsellors, have you spoken to your, she spoke about an equity group or... It is something to do with the finance management, but it is not very formal, like a bank or... But it's an entity that functions for communities. M___ spoke about that and she said ours just closed down a few months back, so I don't have support of them either, I haven't spoken to any debt counsellors, I haven't spoken to anyone who can support me being a single mom or getting money for that stuff. And at that point I felt that there was, it would have been better to have someone with us who could give some concrete advice perhaps, but then you can't really plan for these things. Right, so that conversation kind of stayed there.

Later on, we asked her to fill in the feedback book. C____ asked her what she had written? And she said I think this is a great, awesome community event, this is amazing stuff, etc. etc. And C____ tells her, you know what, I'm getting this stuff from pretty much anyone else, I really want you to write some stuff about... I want you to dig deeper. M____ took a few minutes to think and she said you

know what, one of the reasons I came out today, it was the event that made me come out of the house. I'm a lonely, you know, I'm a single mom sitting at home with my kid and if it weren't for this event I would come out. C____ said you know what, this is brilliant, can you just write this down? And so, she did.

I was sitting beside her as she was doing this, ten-fifteen minutes later she asks me, can I tell you something? And I said yes, go on. She said "this has just made me realise that I think I want to go back to college, I want to be around people, that I want to continue, and I want to be something more than a single mom. And I find that I had no confidence" and I think she was trying to joke about this, by saying "I'm just hiding my tears back." And then suddenly she broke down and actually started crying, she was breathing hard, gasping, and sniffling as tears rolled down her cheeks. C____ got up and gave her a tight hug to calm her down. As she calmed down, she started talking about wanting to do a course in forensics and wanting to study more, and difficulties of being a single mom who could do this. She said, "I haven't been around people, a good group of people, for a long time, so that has kind of... Being here today has kind of given me the boost to actually think that it's possible to do this. I can be a better version of myself." This struck a definite chord with C____ and she asked that she her to put this down in feedback book, saying that this kind of feedback would be something that project can really build on.

4.4 Summing up

This chapter has outlined the unpredictable nature of the day-to-day work in the two informal collaborative projects that I was immersed in. While the attempts to impose a sense of order are still at the core of their organising process, the routines and actions of the participants also show an embracing of the chaotic, the potential, the unexpected and the situational. There were more than a few commonalities in the two projects. Each was in a developmental phase at the time that I got involved in. The aims/outcomes/end products of each project were uncertain. Accordingly, the means of assessing the impact that the projects were creating were also unclear and contested. I have shown through my accounts that the interorganisational context was extremely convoluted. While a core organising team carried out the main functions for the events, this 'core team' itself was in flux and changing per event. People and organisations who participated also varied and participated with a different representational hat at different events. The planning up to the day relied heavily on the information sharing over personal social media accounts and was performed in social settings (pubs, cafes etc); the resource acquisition and allocation was achieved through personal contacts and had an organic, natural feel to it. Similar organising principles were employed during on the day performance of collaborative work. The notions of duties or roles were tenuous at best, interchangeable and allocated at random. The emphasis was on creating a collegial environment where participants co-produced the collaborative project and assumed ownership of it. These core assumption of 'how to do this kind of collaborative work?' were slowly developed through the doing of it, through trial and error, through imagination and through past experiences. The material aspects of the events – where it was taking place, the physical attributes of the location and the setup, the artefacts used on the day – constituted a large part of what the events turned out to be. Equally *who* was there also massively shaped the *what* of the collaborative projects. The embodied experiences of organisers, their emotions, their expectations, hopes, anxieties, their blood, sweat, and tears were as much of an important aspect in making the collaborative projects come together as the organising sense behind the process. Through my accounts of the two projects and tales of collaborative work, my ethnographic narrative offers a flavour of this phenomenon. As detailed earlier, I have refrained from imposing heavy analytical insight and focused my attention in this chapter on creating thick descriptions. Using these descriptions as the basis, in the next chapters I attempt to tackle a more

analysis-oriented question: ‘so what does it all mean? – leading to a conceptual and theoretical variations of answers to my core research question.

5 Interpretation of findings

In the last chapter I presented a detailed, situated and insider account of how day-to-day collaborative work is performed within an informal context. In this chapter, based on my descriptive account, I intend to accomplish two things: 1) to interpret a contextual explanation to the *how* of the informal collaborative work and 2) to offer a more generalised and plausible interpretation of the *how* of collaborative work beyond the immediate context. I accomplish this analysis of strategic conduct through the use of concepts from structuration theory (Giddens, 2010). The use of structuration theory is useful because due to its adoption of structure-agency duality, structuration theory offers a suitable means to connect a *particular* of collaborative work (an informal context) with the *general* of the characteristics of its organising. To do this, the guiding tenet for the method of social analysis Giddens proposes is "don't look for the functions social practices fulfil, look for the contradictions they embody!" (1993 p. 131). For the purpose of doing so, he defines social contradictions as an "opposition or disjunction of structural principles of social systems, where those principles operate in terms of each other but at the same time contravene one another" (Giddens, 2010, p. 141) suggesting a focus on the embodied social practices which allows the researcher to access multiple possible explanations of a single *how?* of that practice. The sociological interpretation I offer in this chapter adopts this sensibility.

Accordingly, in the initial sections to follow, I focus on the embodied and enacted contradictions within the practice of day-to-day informal collaborative work. Later, conceptualizing the interrelatedness of these contradictions, I arrive at a theoretical explanation of how the collaborative work is performed typically i.e., how individual actors' shape and reshape the collaborative entity – and get shaped by it in return – and how they do so in a very *human* manner. In doing so, I offer two conceptual answers (within the context and beyond) to my core research question: 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' I use the ethnographic narrative in my findings chapter (section 4.1 and 4.2) and tales of collaborative work (section 4.3) as an anchor for the below analysis (as suggested by Hammersley, 1990; Van Maanen, 2010). I present the three prominent themes from my data that evince interpersonal contradictions most notably (see Table 11 below)

Theme descriptors	**What day-to-day interaction does the theme cover**	**Links to structuration theory – creating different 'how' explanations as parts of core RQ**
Enacting ethicality	Deciding the 'right thing to do' (modality[1] of norms)	**Structure of legitimisation** - how moral and ideological is conveyed and reinforced in practice of collaborative work
Achieving consensus	Getting everyone to agree on a course of action (modality of facility)	**Structure of domination** - how the allocative control (over resources) and the authoritative control (over people) is performed in the day-to-day collaborative work

[1] Giddens' representation of modalities has been used here which denotes modality as "the central dimensions of the duality of structure in the constitution of interaction- the modalities of structuration are drawn upon by actors in the production of interaction, but at the same time are the media of the reproduction of the structural components of systems of interaction (Giddens, 2010, p.81)

Meaning making	Defining key terms of the work - formal-informal, inclusion-exclusion etc. (modality of interpretive schemes)	**Structure of signification** – how meaning is situated through a complex interplay of active opposing in the performance of collaborative work

Table 11: Analysis themes and links to research questions

Chapter structure

The chapter is organised as follows: the discussion of each of the three themes: enacting ethicality, achieving consensus and meaning making (respectively 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) begins by outlining how these dimensions are defined for my analytical purposes. The key argument within each section is put forth and supported in terms of examples of data points. The data points for all three dimensions are drawn on to support arguments the individual sections. These data points have been cross-referenced as hyperlinks in the tables that collate evidence for my arguments.

In the last section (5.4) I consider the positioning process of the three dimensions together. I show that when we see contradictions within enacting ethicality, achieving consensus and meaning making as connected and not separate, we can identify a cognitive-structural space within which actors exercise their agency. The peculiar way in which actors enact these contradictions offers an explanation for the informal context as well as beyond. I suggest that such work should be considered '*human* work of collaboration' – inadvertently always incomplete, flawed, contextual and personal.

5.1 Dimension of Ethicality – deciding the 'right thing to do' (legitimisation)

5.1.1 Defining ethicality – structure of legitimisation

The notion of ethicality as discussed below originated during the fourth stage of my analysis of data (see Figure 9). I noticed a key commonality between the data points in the various sets during the analysis; the interpretation of actions within these data points was based on a simple yet potent notion: participants considered them to be the 'right things to do'. Within the extracts selected above, and the other instances where coding was used to identify (often contrasting) ethical behaviour, participants emphasized these specific courses of action as something 'they just knew' what to do about, something that 'had to be done'. This was confirmed through an explicit discussion of these activities with participants and/or understood through my ethnographic observation of their day-to-day behaviour in similar circumstances. I have used the descriptor 'enacting ethicality' to group these various NVivo sets together. The nodes which are included in this set but also have contradicting aspects have been presented as intersecting nodes.

5.1.2 Key argument

The key argument presented in this section is that, within the informal collaborative work, the ethicality of day-to-day action is scarcely grounded in any absolute ideological sense. 'In the moment' behaviour is inherently contradictory and is simply rationalised ex post facto as ethical, I propose conceptualising these contradictions as relational. The relational model that I put forth accommodates the complexity of the phenomenon and adds a sociological explanation of the contradictions to the literature surrounding research on collaboration.

5.1.3 Supporting evidence and discussion

I will illustrate my argument through examples of specific data items carefully chosen from highly saturated intersections in cross-sectional coding queries (see Table 8). My finding remains valid regardless of the choice of ideological viewpoint I have imposed to determine the ethicality of action. For the examples below, alignment to the organisational logic of productivity, efficiency etc. is chosen as an ethically positive concept. Following this, within the intersection of nodes against the dimension of ethicality, I have identified numerous positive stories. I present this NVivo set with the descriptor 'tireless heroes' to indicate people who go beyond what is expected of their role. A few examples are evidenced in the box below using the nodes *dividing personal life and work, managing the relationships* and *negotiation.* In these instances, collaborators reproduce, strengthen, and enact the organisational logics of productivity, efficiency, and accountability (Warglien and Masuch, 1996; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2014) as positive. During these interactions, collaborators refrained from separating their personal life from work and presented the exercise as futile, they managed relationships prudently to make sure that the project succeeds. They took initiative in forming relationships that would help the development of the project. They negotiated and guarded resources for project goals. Most importantly, they termed the doing of these actions as the 'right things to do' or ethical. In the below examples, we meet multiple tireless heroes who make sure that the project stays on track, often at the expense of their own time, money, and effort.

5.1.3.1 Examples of data grouped under the set – tireless heroes

Intersecting node: Dividing personal life and work

In these stories, heroes emerge who are unstintingly working, who love what they do and always contribute more than what is expected

Data point 5.1

SP2: I personally have a lot of problems with demarcating when it is that I'm working and when I'm not. Because I'm lucky enough… Well, I'm doing a job that I really love so I end up working when I'm shopping online sometimes. There isn't…

SP1: I wake up at 03:00 in the night and I take a notebook and start writing stuff. If I have an idea.

SP2: Oh yes, absolutely.

Their work and life are entirely mixed up

Data point 5.2 "We had a conversation for five, ten minutes, and then the refugee guy who was living in their house, he came to the computer and she introduced me to him. She wanted to go and drop him off, so she asked if I would be okay with it. In 10 minutes, she was back and then we resumed the call. There were all sorts of stuff happening. She was getting calls for various things, her son came and said hi to me in between. So, all the family life was constantly happening within the – quote marks - workspace."

Intersecting node: Managing the relationships

These heroes take the initiative, decide, act, and manage things to smoothen and maintain the work relationships

Data point 5.3 "And there was an issue about the flagpoles, I mean, nobody raised the issue, I thought of it myself and discussed it with Co___ before moving them around. But our flags said moneyless

market or moneyless zone. Now it wouldn't be appropriate to set those flags up besides the coffee area where Na__ and J__ had set up their cafe. Because they were actually selling coffee and other things. Now we were interacting with them and working with them as if they were part of the Share Fair and Na___ was there throughout the process, she helped unpack last time as well as this time, she was there throughout for the conversations. Still, they were there for a purpose and it wouldn't have been proper to impose the 'free' aspect on them in that sense. "

They embrace the role of being an ambassador for the project, acting without prompts, creating the relationships that will support the project

Data point 5.4 When we were going out to hub, she enthusiastically greeted people on their way. She was loud and happy, very cheerful with her hands up in the air, saying, 'Hi! Hello, everyone. Hey! So good to see you here!' I asked her afterwards, 'How do you know these people?' She laughs and says, 'No, I don't. I just pretend that I do.'

Intersecting node: Negotiation

They negotiate safeguarding of organisational resources for their intended purposes even sacrificing potential funding sources in the process

Data point 5.5 We were discussing potential funding opportunities for the project, so I suggested going for something that they had done last year as well – the SOUP from BoilerRoom. T__'s reaction was very interesting, he says "nah, I don't think we are going down that route mate, I mean last year we sold it as the local artists and bands were getting something from it, so that turned out okay. But it's not really local and they got SOUP for that. Plus, they are already contributing tons, we got place, design for pamphlets, they are putting staff … we don't always want to be taking the money from them… mainly because it's going out (of the community)"

What is curious is that the supposed bond between the action and the rationalising of ethicality (i.e., terming the action performed, either simultaneously or post hoc as appropriate and ethical) can be shown to be tenuous and ad hoc. Seemingly opposite actions can still be connected to the same notions of rationalisation that are later termed ethical. The data, by no means, paints a consistent or monotonous picture. Within the intersection of the exact same nodes and using the exact same reasons - closer alignment to the organisational/institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008) of productivity, efficiency etc. as ethically positive – data also yields multiple "negative" stories. I present this NVivo set with the descriptor 'biased guardians' to indicate actions where people oppose the norms of their expected role. A few examples are evidenced in the box below using the same node as were used to represent 'tireless heroes': *dividing personal life and work, managing the relationships* and *negotiation*. I present instances from the data where individuals oppose and reshape the typical organisational logic of productivity, efficiency, and accountability as positive. They actively fight against such rules/norms. In these instances, people proudly separate their personal life from work, they champion intrinsic values of relationships over the short-term successes and they negotiate and guard resources according to their personal notion of the 'right things to do'. Now we meet biased guardians, who are protecting certain values at the expense of organisations'/projects' efficiency, productivity, or accountability. They do so as they believe that in the long-term protecting those values is likely to translate to a sustainable success of their collaborative work.

5.1.3.2 Examples of data grouped under the set - biased guardians

Intersecting node: Dividing personal life and work

In these stories, the guardians need to create relatively stronger distinction between their social and organisational life. While the separation remains convoluted, making the separation is considered the right course of action

Data point 5.6 *It's about having that you know a separate work and home life. In fact, my daughter-in-law, who's not that much younger than me, she's just popped in here in the door. Originally, I was a hairdresser and so was she and we were good friends for years and years. Now she's married to my stepson and when the job came up in the charity, I knew that she was looking to do something different and that she would be the right sort of person. And I said to her apply… I will make sure I won't be involved in any interviews or such and she got the job and she's working here now, so yes, in that sort of roundabout way, may be. Still the way you say, if I have a friend in business, I wouldn't approach them... it would depend on the person, and on the business. I mean, I wouldn't be averse to it as long as it was all right. But I wouldn't want to lose the friendship over work obviously.*

Intersecting node: Managing the relationship

They consider managing person-to-person relationship as more important than the potential utility of that relationship for advancement of the collaborative project/organisation. In the example below, using the skills of the person would have helped move the project along faster, but priority was given to managing their relationships by avoiding potentially conflicting interactions

Data point 5.7

T: That's why we had to drop A____.

N: She wouldn't let it lie?

T: No, she was doing other stuff when she should have been on floor. That's what she was doing, and she was getting nowhere doing other stuff…You're not actually on the toilet and when the venue's noticing and when all the people you have invited as guests see.

N: No, fair enough. You know my feelings on that shit. [Overtalking].

T: But, yes, you didn't hear that from us. She would be useful, but we have parted amicably, and she felt that she would leave for the best so that her and S___'s relationship doesn't clash. So that's another reason why I'm wary of asking her to do stuff for us.

Intersecting node: Negotiation

The negotiation for resources and rules still takes place but this time the organisational priorities are side-lined. The biased guardian has no qualms about using mild deception to get his/her way.

Data point 5.8 *This issue with drinks again… they said that the last time the organisation let them do the drinks for artists although they were not supposed to. And this time, he is planning to do the exact same thing again, and if and when they ask, just pretend, and say, "Ah sorry, I was not sure that we were not supposed to do this". Very interesting dynamic here, because he believes that he's doing this for a just cause, that it's okay to take advantage to an extent, where he thinks it's acceptable…*

Even the seemingly very hard, rigid aspects of legality are negotiated

Data point 5.9 *So, his business, apparently, has a D1 licence, which is for a community business. Now, in the café, they serve food. Not only pre-packaged food but hot, processed-at-venue food, chips,*

drinks etc. So basically, it's a café like any other. Once, one of the vendors who was working nearby, who came to do some work within the café, asked him, what kind of licence do you have… Where's your A1 licence? And he said, well, I don't have one, and the vendor was really surprised. And R___ told him, "You know what? We do D1 stuff. D1 means community stuff. So, the food I'm selling here, this is all part of community. People don't care. As long as we're running the park, as long as we're doing it a good way, they think that we're actually creating an exemplary situation." And this, again, as we come back to this conscious disobedience or disregard of rules, regulations, which is quite apparent....

So, the data yields complex and seemingly contrasting findings about what can be considered ethical behaviour by participants. In one instance, intimate merging of work and social life is seen as deeply ethical – it is only natural to rely on your friends and relatives in collaborative community work, in another a clearer separation is the best way forward. On one occasion, relationships between participants are revered for their instrumental utility towards development of the project, in another, maintaining the intrinsic value of relational bond is more significant than advancing the project. In one situation the participant takes initiative to safeguard the organisational resources and makes sure they get used for the right purpose, in another, the exact same person is comfortable with mild deception to utilise the same organisational resources for purposes that they are not intended for. Even the seemingly rigid issues of legality and licensing don't escape the contradictory interpretive enactment that is intimately tied in with the ethicality of action. A summary of this contrast is presented below in Table 12

Ethical behaviour	Tireless heroes	Biased guardians
Personal life and work	- Few attempts to separate personal and work, with acceptance of its futility - Entanglement of the two and the joy derived from that is treated as accomplishment	- Clear attempts to separate personal life and work, albeit with questionable success - Clear boundaries or attempts to create them viewed as accomplishments
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.1, Data point 5.2, Data point 5.62, Data point 5.63	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.3, Data point 5.6, Data point 5.59, Data point 5.60, Data point 5.61
Managing relationships	- Collaborative work takes priority; the relationships are actively *managed / handled* to make collaborative work possible - Acting as ambassadors for the project without prompts, creating the relationships to support the work	- Person-to-person relationship as more important than the potential utility of that relationship for advancement of the project/organisation - Priority was given to the relationships by avoiding conflicting interactions and *managing* the resulting effect on collaborative work
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.4, Data point 5.39, Data point 5.44, Data point 5.52	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.3, Data point 5.7, Data point 5.53, Data point 5.56

Negotiation	- Organisational resources are safeguarded through negotiation - organisational accountability logic used to rationalise behaviour	- Individual judgment about resource allocation takes priority over organisational logics - Personal accountability and moral judgements used to rationalise behaviour
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.3, Data point 5.5, Data point 5.45, Data point 5.48, Data point 5.54, Data point 5.55	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.8, Data point 5.9, Data point 5.10, Data point 5.11, Data point 5.15, Data point 5.16, Data point 5.53
Vision/Goals	- Collective/organisational vision of collaborative success is prioritised	- Personal vision of collaborative success is prioritised
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.27, Data point 5.28, Data point 5.31	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.50, Data point 5.53

Table 12: Contradictions within ethicality dimensions - tireless heroes vs biased guardians

Nodes grouped under the theme ethicality are represented as below (see Figure 15). This figure shows sub-themes (NVivo nodes) grouped together under the theme (NVivo set). I have selected elements that were most visible within my data, but the empty circles represent and reinforce the idea that multiple interpretations (and consequently themes) of such ethical behaviour are possible, and further, that the grouping I offer is not exhaustive.

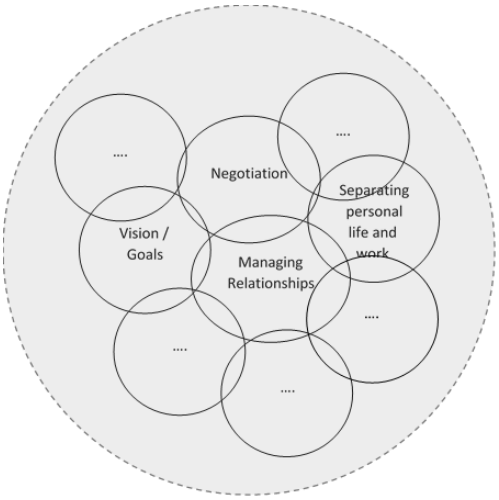


Figure 15: Nodes grouped under ethicality

5.1.4 Considering temporality and situational aspects of ethicality

The examples above use the day-to-day 'in the moment' work to demonstrate how ethicality is enacted through contradictory behaviours. While I shall not outline more examples at this point, the same argument can be sustained for behaviours extending over time. As the description in the findings chapter have already illustrated, the collaborators purposefully drafted, co-constructed and communicated (more often through the activities rather than formalised documentation) vague long terms visions for the project. Such purposeful vagueness impacted the day-to-day work. A paradoxical working assumption was that the long-term goals were always far out of reach, and yet, there were numerous possibilities to achieve them. With regards to the ethicality of actions, this led to contradictory modes of operation in participants' behaviour. A clear consensus through explicit

discussion on what counts as the 'right things to do' was not considered necessary or possible. The uncertainty was very high and to compensate, people operated with a high level of trustworthiness towards each other, and as if they 'just knew' how to go on. They insistently drew on the social norms of politeness and notion of 'getting along'. The first person to say 'let's do it this way' usually got it done their way. Other times, after a few ideas have been put onto the table, a semi-democratic mode of decision making, leaning towards person(s) most likely to contribute to the task, would decide to the course of action to be followed.

On the other hand, I repeatedly observed that for some specific aspects of the project – money allocated, tangible materials used, assessment of impact, safety concerns and legality, etc. – alignment of behaviours to the typical organisational logics (efficiency, accountability, and productivity) was often treated as if it were more rigid. Recorded interactions indicate that talking about these aspects was handled with conscious care. When the discussions highlighted actions surrounding or related to abovementioned aspects, more often than not, an authoritative decision-making facilitated the course of action; people would put their guard up. In these situations, getting along was marginally less important than securing resourcing and exhibiting safe, legal behaviour (although on occasion, even this was sidestepped, see Data point 5.9). Data shows that participants who were most familiar, most accountable, or most domineering in the discussion shouldered the responsibility of choosing the direction when sensitive topics were on agenda. However, the cordial character of the interaction, somewhat damaged through the application of authority, was still maintained. Intentional humour or expressions suggesting helplessness - being stuck in situational/organisational/governmental rules - were used to distance oneself from the domineering positions assumed. Few situations ever led to actual conflicts, and they were never resolved at the front stage. The communal sense of project was nurtured with due attention. While these modes of decision making were significantly different, they retained some common features, especially as to how the 'ethical' was understood and enacted over long term – what was constructed as 'sense' behind the *doing* of collaborative work.

The importance of context in this persistent construction needs to be re-stressed before continuing the discussion. In a more formal setting (I shall revisit the formal-informal distinction in section 5.3.3.4), the rules of behaviour for organisational or collaboration context are more clearly set (although not in stone) and somewhat formalised prior to the work begins. In the instances of informal collaborative work, i.e., the work that I was observing, this was not the case at all. At the least, the extent to which such rules were explicitly known/discussed was very low. This meant that the possibilities of potential behaviours and what those behaviours would imply needed to be constructed and interpreted from scratch by the collaborators. The informants that I observed needed to be consciously aware of what could happen and did not always have a clearly defined mechanism (if a is done b will happen- positive or negative) to rely on. The rules of the game were often unclear. One could argue that this is always the case for human behaviour in any given context – i.e., what a certain behaviour could lead to is never completely certain. I concur with this point but stress that within the context of this research, the lack of specified rules meant that the extent to which collaborators needed the cognitive awareness of uncertainty was very high. The mental energy that they put into the initiatives to make them happen was often pointed as a key resource and a requirement of the collaborative work. It was also not uncommon to hear collaborators being 'burnt out' by the collaborative work they undertook.

Furthermore, previous instances and specific situational factors also impacted the informant behaviour. In data point 4.8 above, the informant decided that he will choose to defy the organisational rule (by providing drinks brought from outside rather than in-house) because in the

previous interaction that behaviour was considered an acceptable form of rule breaking. In data point 4.6, the informant explicitly suggests that the decision to approach (or not) a friend for help was guided by her own previous boundary defining when she decided to suggest a job for her daughter-in-law. I do not suggest that there is causal connection/directionality in the decisions made over time, but simply that the previous interaction and the in-the-moment enacted contradictions are certainly connected and inform each other. The notion of ethical, which is constructed through the contradictions sustained over time is relevant in understanding the actions in the past as well as the in the present.

5.1.5 Conceptualising contradictory within ethicality

At times, both the roles of tireless heroes and biased guardian behaviours are performed by same actors within different context and/or at different times. So, how do collaborators select the right thing to do? Or rather how are they comfortable with performing the tasks that are completely contrasting to one another and deeming both of these ethical? Based on the inherent tensions within each node, as well as the path and context dependant nature of the way in which these behaviours are performed, I suggest organising one aspect of the relationship between contradictory elements as below (see Figure 16). In the given figure, the ends of the middle arrows indicate the possible choices for behaviour. Leaning towards the right arrow indicates behaviour as a biased guardian, whereas the left indicates behaviour as a tireless hero. Curved arrows indicate the awareness of constraints of any unchosen behaviour that enables the decision towards either direction.

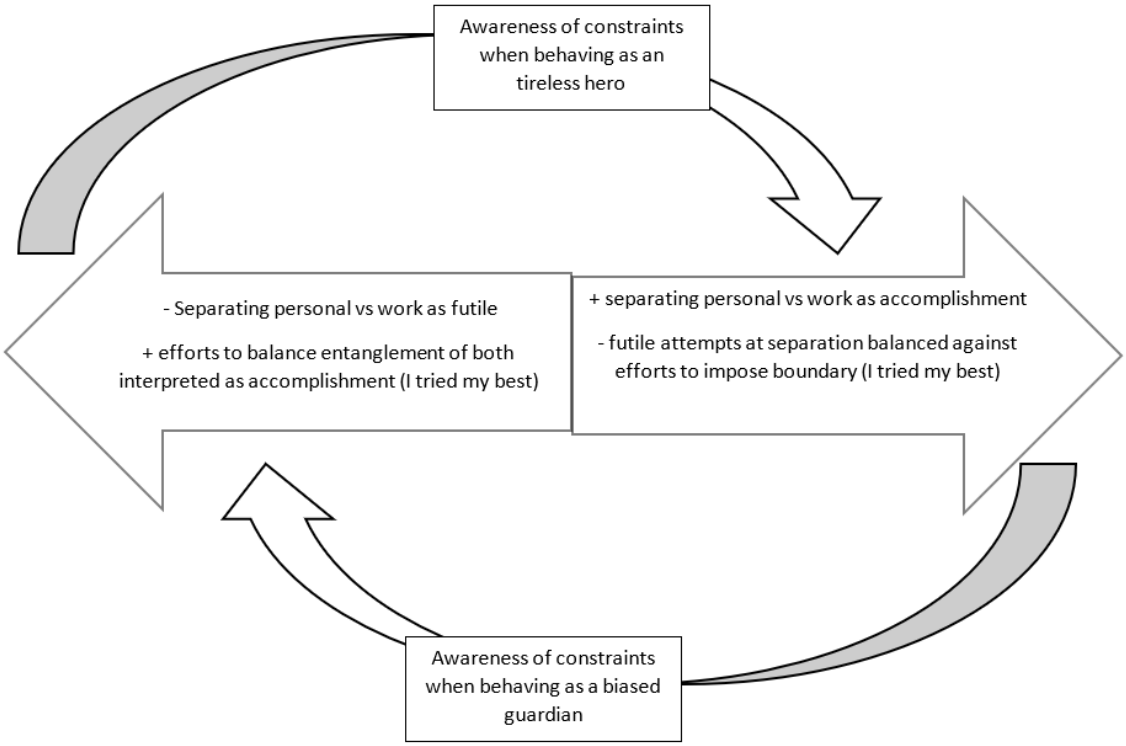


Figure 16: Conceptualising relationality within contradictory– ethicality dimension

Through conceiving these elements as connected rather than as separate or opposite, I claim that we are better able to see how the relationality of contradictory behaviours can be understood in the

contextual enactment. Collaborative actors are (albeit always partially) aware of multiple possibilities of their actions. The notion that 'they could have done otherwise' (Giddens, 2010), a significant assumption necessary to uphold the structurationist lens that I have used for analysis, informs the choice of what is actually performed. This holds true for the elements that can be analysed under the dimension of ethicality (as well as other two dimensions that follow). Further, the deep tension and connectedness of these aspects are extremely significant for the conceptualising that I propose in bridging connections between these dimensions.

Based on the above figure, a comparable modelling of the tension and interconnectedness between the other aspects of ethicality is now possible. A further interpretation of these various aspects of ethicality is to look at them as answers to the questions of 'how to': How to separate personal work and life? How to manage relationships in a collaborative context? How to negotiate for resources and their allocation? How to envision the goals of collaborative work? And how to perform all of the above ethically? Multiple equally correct answers existed for these questions and collaborators were aware of that. Similar to the tensions and interconnectedness depicted the above Figure 16 for the resolution of personal work and life, all of the abovementioned aspects can be said to be joined up by the awareness of the constraints of the contrasting multiple other possibilities as answers to above questions, which in turn, enables any given behaviour. Using the same key as in the Figure 16 (middle arrows indicating two possible ends of contradictory behaviour(s) and curved arrow indicating enabling of the nature of the awareness of constraints of other possible behaviour(s), I propose a model for their relationality in Figure 17.

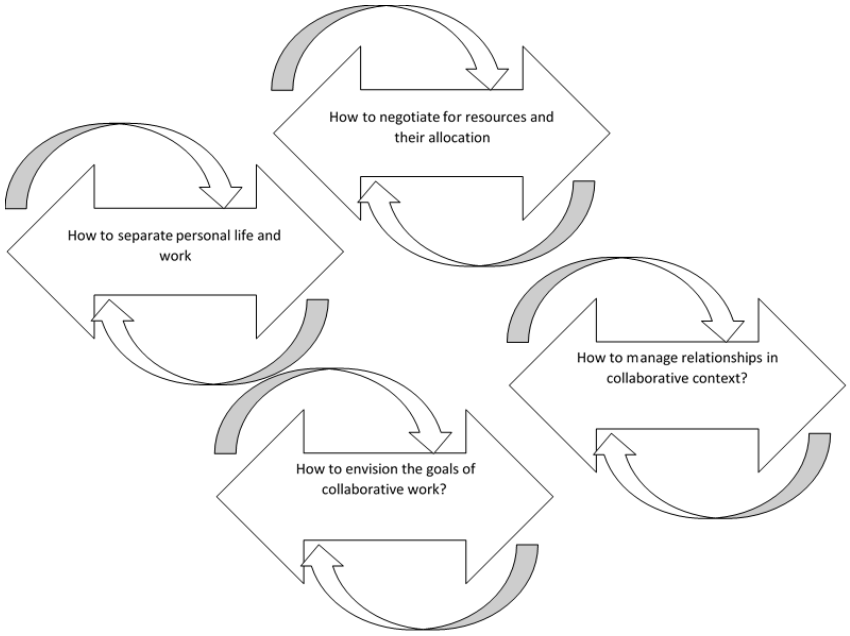


Figure 17: Illustrating relationality within ethicality dimensions

Furthermore, weaving the idea that the interconnected aspects of ethicality are themselves informed by inherent tensions into a thematic representation of ethicality, I have modified the original representation (see Figure 18). Instead of a flat representation, the interconnected aspects are shown as having layers of contradictions that are relationally connected as conceptualised in Figure 16 and Figure 17. A point of note, while this representation is useful in situating agent behaviour it still does not fully demonstrate the complexity of the phenomenon. The interconnected aspects of ethicality (as well as other dimensions) are not only made up of contradictions (although I have chosen to focus on contradictions to generate useful analytical insights). In many cases these connections are deeper,

they are tangential in some and non-existent in others, and take various forms of relation to each another; it is my analytical exercise that pulls them together as a meaningful whole.

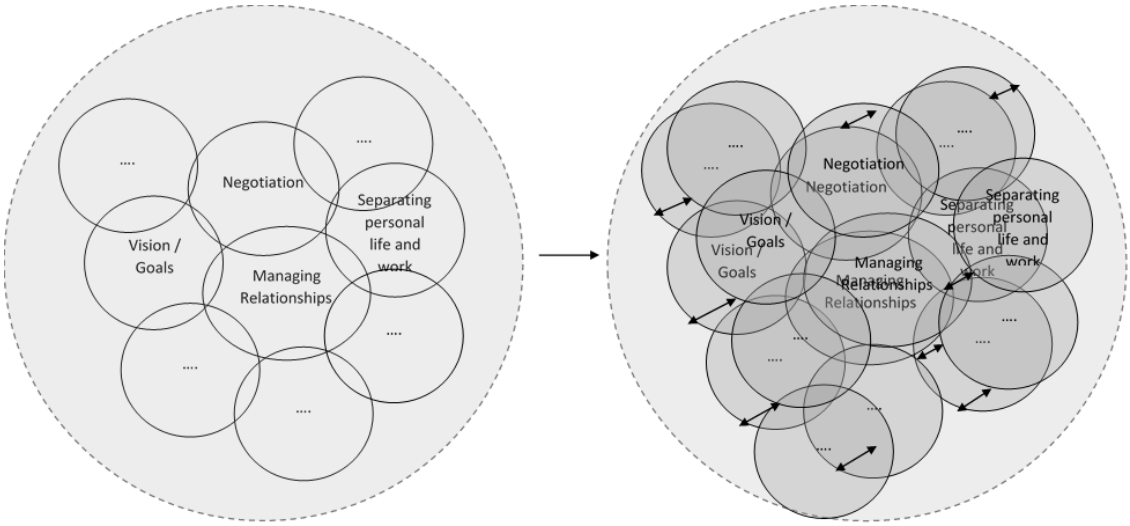


Figure 18: Modified grouped conception of nodes under ethicality

Figure 18 illustrates a part of the complexity underlying a seemingly simple actor behaviour that furthers the course of informal collaborative work. Through sensing all of these interconnected contrasting aspects of ethicality, their possible implications, anticipating their consequent justification, post hoc rationalisation and, most importantly, performing action in light of all of these 'in the moment' simultaneously, we start seeing part of the conceptual space in which actors exercise their agency. This micro level activity of selecting, combining, and recombining this plethora of decisions still allows for the enactment of seemingly stable (or seemingly flexible) routines of action. This means that the actors allow the possibility of the stability of a decision over time or its change. Or rather, they recognise any pattern as stable or changing, which in itself is dependent on their perception, reflected in the *knowing* that they develop through their practice over time. Repeating the same behaviour can be presented as flexible, on the other hand, variations in behaviour can be presented as consistent.

An important aspect to answer through a process lens is not to identify whether there were actual variations in the action but rather the *how of* or the identification of the mechanisms through which (seemingly different or seemingly similar) behaviour is performed. As evident through my interpretations so far, the contradictions within the data are only puzzling if we focus on the 'what' of the ethicality dimension rather than its 'how'. Asking 'what is ethical' in such and such situation necessarily provides us with potentially contrasting and puzzling answers. Instead, I suggest that we need to ask, 'how is (personally and contextually) ethical enacted?'; this change in the orientation gets us closer to understanding the agent behaviour in depth. In the following two sections, I continue to demonstrate how the contradictions within the normative collaborative behaviour can be interpreted for the other two structures (domination and signification) from structuration theory. For a discussion of how these three dimensions are brought together for a further conceptualisation, see section 5.4.1 and 5.4.2.

5.2 Dimension of consensus building – achieving agreement (domination)

In the below discussion, I outline the interactions which brought power dynamics to the surface and explore contradictions within them. Data coded under the node *resources*, further divided between

allocative (control over material resources) and *authoritative* (control over agentic actions), is used to discuss acquisition and employing of resources. In the collaborative projects that I observed, interactions surrounding allocative (47 sources, 101 coded references) were significantly prominent than authoritative (30 sources: 49 coded references); this could be attributed to a collegial sense consciously nurtured within the projects. Explicit interactions to establish authority were infrequent. The intersection of the node *resources* against other nodes such as *accountability* (divided into *documentation*, *legal requirements, material, money* etc.), *control and authority* and *conflict* has primarily shaped the discussion below. All these nodes have been collated under the NVivo set 'consensus building'.

5.2.1 Defining consensus building – structure of domination

Similar to earlier theme, the notion of consensus building originated in the fourth stage of my analysis of data, which focuses on the management of aspects of power within informal collaborative projects. I noticed a key commonality between the data points in the abovementioned sets during analysis: they were about actions surrounding control over resources (material resources and/or agentic actions as a resource). Through a structurationist lens, power is understood as a transformative capacity and hence is inherent in every single interaction (Giddens, 1993, 2010). It is produced and reproduced through structure of domination. For my analytical purposes, I have bracketed this definition and narrowed its focus further to the decision-making surrounding resources (allocative and authoritative); this is necessary to foreground consensus building as a key theme from my data. In the projects that I observed, through the making decisions about how to utilise resources, collaborators were exercising their power. I have grouped the nodes under the descriptor 'consensus building' to identify instances where this exercise of power was relatively overt. Two further descriptors, 'communal outlook' and 'prudent outlook', have been used to juxtapose contradictions within this behaviour against one another.

5.2.2 Key argument

The building of consensus was typically achieved by adhering to certain norms. Such norms, while implicit, led to behaviour that was explicitly facilitated as good practice. I discuss four such norms:

- Use anything that you find
- There is no shame in asking
- There is no one in charge, almost
- This is a place for everyone to get along

Behaviours that fit into these unwritten social norms were tacitly endorsed and encouraged. The first two norms focus on the allocative (control over material resources), whereas the last two focus on authoritative (control over agentic actions), however such distinction is not definitive. Similar to other two dimensions, I suggest and evidence that agent behaviour was riddled with contradictions and dilemmas. I will first explicate the norms through the use of data points and then identify contradictions that exist within them at various levels.

5.2.3 Supporting evidence and discussion

5.2.3.1 Use anything that you find

The informal collaborative projects were built from scratch and as such were always short on resources. Treating places, people, and communities where the work was to take place as naturally available pool of resources was typical. The behavioural norm in such situations was to use anything that could be found. Inventive means were often used to 'make do'. Any available location could

become the meeting spot, any available person could become the decision maker, any available space could be used as an activity area, any available items could be used for crafts or decoration. People's skills/knowledge were often utilised in making things fit for purpose. Organisers were aware of such behaviour and encouraged it as resourceful/ingenious.

Examples of the norm 'Use anything that you find'

Data point 5.10 *"We worked out that if I hired from her, flagpoles and flag stands, that would pretty much be the price that she needed to actually buy them. But we needed to do this really cheaply, so we got drainpipe… Plastic drain piping and her husband was an engineer and he'd sort out how to put a cuff on it in order for it to fit into the water stands."*

Data point 5.11 *"I think we got Marks and Spencer's, so they'd provide us with some boxes of bras or something. And Oxfam gave us a box of books. You know, so we had bits and piece. But we… You know, begged, borrowed and scrounged and everything."*

Data point 5.12 *"So, we didn't have our typical place to sit down and we're trying to sort out where to go. We decided to go into the games room and sit around the pool table to have a chat there. It wasn't a very nice arrangement, and we were cramped. We just had to move some tables around, make some space."*

Data point 5.13 *"There was a disabled toilet from which we managed to get the water. The taps were very short, close to the basin, and we couldn't get the water bottles to fit in there. So, from the stuff lying around I found a jug to put the water in it and bring it out. And this was required to put on the flagpoles which needed to be steady."*

Data point 5.14 *"And in BoilerRoom they had put a few tables together to have the volunteer meeting in the area where usually there are seats for shows, besides the DJ table. It wasn't very tidy but then Jay and Tom put a few things together; we moved some chairs around, dropped the materials in the middle and started the meeting."*

Data point 5.15 *"Casey asked me to identify, look at the logo to see if it would work. My response was yes, it would work. But I was thinking that there isn't anything at stake for me in this decision-making. It's not tied to anything because I was thinking that the resources… they don't belong to the actors who are making the decisions, it's rather messy"*

Data point 5.16 *"when we were trying to fill up the sand in the sandbags, we fell short of it. So, holding the small cup that we were using we went around to find whatever was available nearby. There was a construction site on the opposite side of the road, we just took some rocks and sand from there. When we were doing that, there were jokes about ingenuity and resourcefulness. But this was interesting, something about how the stuff was considered correct for use, for purposes other than what it was originally intended for."*

The implications of 'use anything you find' approach for the consideration of power is very peculiar in the assumed understanding and the treatment of the ownership of the allocative resources. In using anything that will work, and anyone who was present making the decisions as to what is to be used and how, the organisations, people, communities etc. were stripped of their private ownership as well as of their authority of the allocative power of the material resources. In their stead, the organisers making decisions 'in the moment' employed this authority and decided what would happen with these

resources. Further, while doing so, they showed a visible resistance to the private aspect of material ownership and instead exhibited strong emphasis on and celebration of its shared nature. The Share Fair flagship banner pointed out 'Between us, we have everything'. Rock4Refugees communication states "Make a list of what you need and between us we'll sort it out." The allocative power of resources was necessarily assumed to belong to everyone who was involved. The underlying assumption which supported this decision making was that the collaborative projects utilised 'wealth of the world' and, in turn, contributed to it.

5.2.3.2 No shame in asking for stuff

Another behavioural norm employed to gather the material resources, which were not openly available, was simply by asking. As the resources were considered shared, their acquisition for projects was to be entangled with zeal rather than tainted by hesitation/shame of needing to ask for them. To make the process easy, clear instructions and questions were used to direct the asking for resources. The asking was done towards familiar as well as non-familiar people. Participants often posted Facebook posts listing what is required at the events and used the comment sections to coordinate different participants contributing different materials. When calculating the potential costs for events/activities, a significant portion of the resources were expected to be gathered without spending any of the allocated money.

Examples of the norm 'no shame in asking for stuff'

Data point 5.17 *"ROLL CALL: Who's coming to this weekend's BLE DIY event & trial Share Fair in MK? (and what dish are you bringing for the Big Lunch?)"*

Data point 5.18 *"If you have any décor (think festival), bring it with you! Particularly fairy lights, bunting etc."*

Data point 5.19 *"We now know that we need cardboard boxes, so now we also know a mover's company that we phone up every time and they've got hold of a lot of cardboard boxes that we can use."*

Data point 5.20 *I was speaking briefly to S___ about the flags for Share Fairs, and I told her that one of the other events I attend, the company paid a professional to make these flags, and they ended up paying £2000 something for the flag poles and the flags that they have made. She said that she used to get the commissions for work to make things like banners and flags before, and then she volunteered to do more, the same for Rock4Refugees. Further, the people close to her were all there and it made sense to be asked to do something that they knew she would do well.*

Data point 5.21 *"Beneficiaries. No change yet. Raffle. There are some prizes coming. Cassie is collecting them. Still, if anyone thinks of any more prizes, comes across anyone that might give a prize, that would be great."*

Data point 5.22 *I asked Je___ how much this activity would cost to set-up, and she said something less than £10, I thought 'that can't be true. It would require £25 to £30 at least to acquire the materials', but then she suggested ways of going around the typical cost, using thrown away teddy bears or using thrown away pillows for the stuffing materials and so on and on. The cost was only calculated after having asked around for things that people could give away for free.*

Data point 5.23

A: Are you comfortable asking?
T: Yeah, I've got no problem. It's a very just cause […] it is something that I'm very passionate about. I don't like seeing people that are getting injustice. It's quite easy to make the case then. You want to ask people and then you can say this is unfair. People are being treated wrongly.

Data point 5.24
C: I was going to ask the festivals maybe. That's what I'm going to do, ask festivals for free tickets.
T: Oh, if you come across G___ at the weekend, just do a little canvassing."

Data point 5.25 They discussed a few ideas regarding who could be organising the paints and the graffiti section. T___ asked everyone to keep a look out for the wooden boards/coverings that the completed buildings have that the builders are usually trying to get rid of them. The idea was to ask them to give them away for free, to use as cavasses for graffiti activities, and maybe even get builders to transport them up to the event location. Kill two birds in one stone.

Data point 5.26 "I have too much uni work on so nothing for the next couple of weeks. Everything is looking good though. Did C____ send you the standard draft of email to send to companies asking for raffle prizes and sponsorship?"

These efforts suggested 'acquire by simply asking' as a common and accepted mode of day-to-day collaborative work. There were visible attempts to alter the typical power dynamic. The usual assumptions that the 'person allocating resources holds higher power' was frequently challenged. The negotiation that the participants had to perform for resource acquisition was taking place at an interpersonal as well as person-organisational level. By insertion of different understanding around the concept of sharing, there was a visible effort to equalise the power relationships.

5.2.3.3 No one is in charge, almost

As discussed thus far, the resources were considered to belong to everyone involved, they were to be gathered from everyone with enthusiasms. The projects themselves were assumed to belong to everyone. As the ownership was shared in such a manner, it follows on that there should not be anyone authoritatively in charge. This was explicitly and implicitly expressed in the interactions. Involving everyone in the decision making, consideration of all the ideas presented, sharing social media account details and passwords or the security codes amongst all organisers freely and openly were considered a typical practice. At time, organisers would purposefully wait back and let things get somewhat messy rather than get involved and direct people's behaviour in an authoritative manner.

The examples of the norm 'No one is in charge, almost'

Data point 5.27 "And really, what we were saying was that we are a community organisation, we want to pass ownership over to everyone. You know its Guildford people. So, it was me, Ch___ and B__ were helping out as well. You know, it was all of us ...we want to hear what the other people are hearing because this is what this network is."

Data point 5.28 "He said that unlike many other council projects, which show public engagement only on paper (he gave an example of how the council would put the information about the upcoming projects on their websites for 10 days and then tick the box of having informed the general public), this project has actual grassroot involvement. The groups held numerous meetings, collaborated with architects, made joint decisions on design, and gave inputs and ideas. People picked things like layout, colour of the walls and the carpet, they made the project

'their own'."

Data point 5.29 From what she's told me, it would be a great allocation of the money we raised, and we just need to say yes for them to go ahead. There are a couple of links below and if any of you aren't comfortable with this and would rather allocate the money somewhere else then do say so - it won't be an issue. It's more important that we are all cool with how the money is being spent and that we are accountable to the many people who have donated to us over the last year and a half.

Data point 5.30 C____ gave the Twitter account name and password to her verbally when everyone else was present. I mean, even if the account password was – I wouldn't mention it here, but the password included just a friend's name and the number, and this was interesting because she was the one who obviously set the account. There wasn't much attention paid to the strength of the password. Plus, she was very happy to share it with all the organisers within the group.

Data point 5.31 "The brand of The Big Lunch is not that important. While the organisation tends to do it a specific day annually, you could do it on a day more convenient to you, you could choose to use your own material (instead of using material from Eden), you can call it something else altogether (as evident through example The Lunch Party, The Mega fest etc.). They're happy for people to adopt it in their own sense, but it seems as though they really just want to spread the core idea around."

Data point 5.32 So, people were saying that, 'Ah yes, I've listened to this band, it's rock solid, they're really good, put them on'. That was probably it. Almost trying to be slightly more democratic in the decision-making process and he brought up this idea that he was then asking of people, 'So does everyone agree with this? Everyone's okay with this band? Yes, let's go for it'. The decision was made.

Data point 5.33 The leadership style that I noticed, was no leadership whatsoever. T____ didn't tell anyone what to do. When he came in, well I certainly expected him to have some ideas, as to where things were going to go, or to start telling people to move things round or to put things where they need to go. He didn't really engage in any of that at all. He was basically observing what is happening, but he wasn't really taking an authoritative part or organizing it. But he was happy to help when people were unsure as to what was needed to be done and if asked for help.

In the conscious implicit understanding that invoking involvement actually entailed taking a step back from authoritative decision making, the organisers still employed their authoritative power (control over agent actions), albeit in more subtle ways. Furthermore, this had other impacts on organisers. As no one was completely in charge, the decision-making process had a higher uncertainty, which implied a higher uncertainty for all aspects of the day-to-day collaborative work performed in this manner. On occasion, decision making took a lot longer than usual. More cognitive work needed to be performed; organisers who encouraged this mode of behaviour needed to manage their own anxiety regarding the resulting uncertainty.

5.2.3.4 This is a place to get along

Inclusivity and openness were emphasized as one of the core values of the project. Including diverse communities in the collaborative work was seen as important and necessary. Everyone was invited (including pets) and people getting along with ease was reinforced as the norm. This was made

possible 1) through suggesting that it was inherent nature of these kinds of events to be inclusive and/or 2) through celebrating examples of achieving inclusion between different kinds of groups. In most instances, this was easily possible as the people attracted to such initiatives were willing and enthusiastic to make friends and to be part of the projects, in others instances social engineering was used to make people more amenable.

Examples of the norm 'This is a place to get along'

Data point 5.34 *You've got a big diverse community there so a lot of the community groups are African or the Somalian – and constantly I was being told, 'Yes, but they don't really want to get involved, well, they're not really interested in this kind of thing and I'm saying, 'Well, have you asked them?' 'Oh no, we...' There was always, that's where I didn't get past the blockages. It was making me feel more uncomfortable and, as I say, my naivety would be just, well, we're going invite everybody. So, I still, I think, enabled the event itself to be inclusive*

Data point 5.35 *The seating area there soon filled up and it was great to hear the conversations going on there, people who had never met, community workers from across the city and further apart and all ages talking about the market, the sun that came out (just as we opened) and the community they lived in.*

Data point 5.36

As they came in, we thought that they were acquaintance with someone…
C___: so, you are friends of...?
W___: we're friends of no one.
C___: oh, I cannot believe that!" [everyone laughs]
W___: Well, we're friends of none of the people here, but hopefully we'll make some.
C___: I'm so thrilled to hear that! Please come on in and join us. We'll get started on putting things together.

Data point 5.37 *J___ said that everyone who went to these meetings was elderly and some 'jaws were dropped' when a young couple like him and his wife got involved. With police departments permission they started tweeting the discussions of the meeting. He said that this increased the participation from community, specifically the younger audience. These people would tweet back questions to the police dept and J___ would convey them verbally in the meeting on the spot. The police loved it as well.*

Data point 5.38

Data point 5.39 *He said that I came in, and because I was an outsider and because, I suppose, there was a validity that came from being part of the Eden Project. He said, his words were, 'You were able to wrap them around your little finger.' "So, what happened in MK is originally because L___ was one of our own, had been down to our community council, I had a relationship with him through that. That meant, it meant access really to the Parish Council. So, he'd already arranged for us to have the land to use and the venue. What he then did in order for us to have a certain level of freedom to do what we wanted in terms of the event was to invite T____to the meeting that he'd arranged. He said, 'Right, well if you're not in a space for a meeting I can arrange a space for a meeting for you', which meant all the Wolverton ladies, the Oldbrook ladies, all our big lunch extras, and the guys that I knew were good volunteers in MK, we had a little meeting there. T___ was sat in it; it wasn't like, he didn't need to be there, L___ had just kind of engineered it that way. Because he was in the middle of us getting enthusiastic and talking about this and none of us were going to be asking the Parish Council for anything, T___ got swept up with it and wanted to be part of it. Instead of being a blocker he then became a facilitator and that's where he said, 'Oh actually, I think we could find you a grant. We would like to help with this, we would like to have a bit of this really. Let's do this together."*

Data point 5.40 *Interestingly enough, some of the outsiders, people who were not invited for a community camp, but people who were just coming into Eden, were encouraged to join in as they wanted to, again, promoted this philosophy of open to everyone, inclusive Big Lunch. Eden staff were doing their part by informing people who were curious and coming just to watch what's been happening and trying to get them involved.*

There is an inherent contradiction in the behaviour where it is assumed that inclusivity is the norm, yet conscious efforts are necessary to achieve it. This suggests that inclusivity is treated both as (an expected) norm and not (currently) norm. Similar to the leadership aspects, suggesting a certain way of behaving, even when taking a step back from the actual 'managing' of that behaviour does suggest that some form of managing is already taking place. In imposing the ideological assumptions to rework the normalcy around the concept of inclusion, the organisers were using their authoritative power in subtle but definite ways.

5.2.3.5 Breaking the norms

And then there were instances where these behavioural norms were purposefully broken. People hesitated in asking for resources, territories were marked, conversations and resources were more explicitly controlled, the authority was established more clearly. As mentioned earlier, this was particularly relevant for the seemingly hard issues surrounding organisational rules, legality, safety. The collegial sense, the familiarity and the other typical behavioural aspects had to be brushed aside when making these exceptions. Within these instances was sometimes the beginning of conflicts, of unease and of discord. However, such breaking of the norms was definitely infrequent and easily brushed aside. In my observation, there were no lasting conflicts, and certainly none were resolved/handled at the front stage of the organising process. I have collated the behaviour discussed under the abovementioned norms using the descriptor 'communal outlook'. The instances where the norms were broken has been organised using the descriptor 'prudent outlook'. In the examples below a contrasting behaviour to the examples discussed thus far is visible. Organisers established clear boundaries to define what the resources were to be used for, to outline who or what gets the priority. There was hesitation in asking for things, especially from strangers, organisers needed to mentally prepare for the act of asking. Accounting for resources was considered strict and necessary. Spatial

boundaries were established using symbols and artefacts. Life would not work out as expected and sometimes someone just needed to take charge.

Examples of breaking the norm

Hesitation in asking

Data point 5.41 "All tickets on the door are £10. Do try to ask everyone who walks through the door for an additional donation but there is absolutely no pressure to do this. If you are uncomfortable doing this, then you don't have to - play it by ear."

Data point 5.42 Would someone mind asking the B_____ if they would be kind enough to give us a couple of free tickets as a raffle prize pls? I don't have friendship/contact with them at all...

Data point 5.43 I keep bringing myself with effort to suggest things that may help, but then I feel guilty afterwards as to I'm not entirely sure if I'm comfortable to ask the people that I've said that I will ask.

Data point 5.44 "She has also been wanting to ask nearby businesses to lend us some drinks or set up some tables together for swapping the stuff, I have heard this again and again. She says 'I want to only go there when I'm feeling very positive, very gorgeous, when I can go' she raises her hand and exclaims 'Hello lovelies' but today she wasn't feeling up to it. But she kept repeating the idea to me yesterday, then she told it to P___ today and to C____, so I think there is maybe an element of trying to reinforce it for herself, through performing it with other people. To build up the courage to do it"

Strict and transparent accountability

Data point 5.45 Cassy has the spreadsheet of costs if anyone wants to see them or send on for any sponsorship interest. Please send any costs through to Cassy so the sheet can be kept up to date regularly.

Data point 5.46 And they're going to not be interested in just how gorgeous it all is. I mean, that's kind of like a given. It was like, so have you got any evidence of impacts? What are the numbers? And how do you see this taking forward?

Data point 5.47 She said that while the idea behind the event "to donate food to eat it" was a good concept, it was not well executed. S___ received lots of food donations on the day but it was not specific things that had used or could use in the right time. This meant that it had to be given to the food bank. This was not a waste and five families were fed using it. She said that tonight she meant to use some more of it to make curry for her guests, but this exercise needed more organisation.

Data point 5.48 "As a person who controls the money, I would find it hard to give someone money who's telling me that, 'I have no idea what's going to happen with it'. That seems to be the reality of this"

Marking territories

Data point 5.49 *Also, there was an issue of territories. So, some charities, some other groups are also doing this kind of work and they almost feel territorial. There's an element of competition as to whether you shouldn't be doing this because they are doing this right now.*

Data point 5.50 *"But something remarkable about the flags was, Share Fair was never used as a word. At that point I didn't really understand what it is she was talking about, but later it became apparent that she was talking about the Big Lunch, well the bigger lunch. So, the Big Lunch that Mandy and Rob have organized, they have called it something else. The same kind of stuff happened with the Share Fairs as well, in the sense that they wanted to use the core idea, but they*

probably wanted to steer slightly away from it too, because the flags, Hardie Park, well in the flags they split up these words, but the word Fair is never used, they use the words Hardie Share Friends, well Hardie Park Friends Share but never Share Fair. They want it to be established as their own thing"

Data point 5.51 But this was a useful discussion, and she was talking about things in Boston as many Eastern Europeans have migrated there and they're living in one area, so they'll have 50 people and all male, all working age who really don't have a communal life as such and whereas the other population has a little bit of that and then they don't really mix very well. She was telling me in the Share Fair, they had a whole line of them sitting across the park. she went to them, asked them to join, but it didn't work out because they didn't really take an interest and one of the women with a kid came, but nobody else have joined in. And she was really, really isolated and that somehow this made it very difficult to have that Share Fair there.

Data point 5.52 The reason for telling these people this was perhaps to make them feel special. Obviously, it's great news to share in the story and narrative that makes sense for the people that have this mentality to appreciate something like this within here. It's also including them within the inner circle. Saying that, 'We haven't shared this is outer public yet. You are special. You're one of us, almost.' say, 'You're closer to us.' It was interesting.

<u>Controlling resources and conversations</u>

Data point 5.53 "H____ was rather under pressure because she saw lots of things on those small flags that she had not really included or was not going to be doing herself. C____ gave an example of the flag showing vegan curry and because H___ didn't have that, she ended up buying some samosas and bhajis from Tesco to give them out to people as some sort of food. And C___ has asked her to send her the bill for it so she could pay for it and she's going to actually invoice it as the lunch of I, C___ herself and the third person that was with us."

Data point 5.54 She was telling me about the pom- poms and she said pom-poms a great activity but, you know, every time we are spending money to buy wool and it's not for free. So there needs to be a way for us to see how we can make it more sustainable. And yes, again, this kind of adds up to the money theme.

Data point 5.55 She spoke about a diligent admin process where the discussion of ideas and project was encouraged but any complaining or moaning was dealt with a polite "we understand you have concerns etc., however, this is not a space for that specific discussion" (perhaps followed by closing and taking down of the posts) to keep the discussion (in her words) positive and open.

Data point 5.56 While, at the same time it was not an official meeting. There was definitely a good amount of care taken suggesting as to not keep it fully informal meaning, but to just push people along slightly. This delicate balance of managing the formality of standardised meeting with an agenda and minutes versus trying to have a conversation in the pub, was something that was done quite skilfully.

<u>Imposing strict authority</u>

Data point 5.57 "Just after the trip, we went to the lunch area and when we were going there, T____ grabbed me by the arm and pulled me away and let the other participant get their food first. I already had it in my mind that I was going to eat later. Being forcibly made to do so rather…Well, there was some familiarity behind it, but It was also a somewhat brash manner, it was quite obvious what she wanted to say. I felt embarrassed and thought it was rather unnecessary. "

Data point 5.58 "Alcohol will be strictly under the control of the artist liaison and co-ordinators. If anyone asks you for alcohol, do not give it to them"

Similar to the discussion of dimension of ethicality, the data yields multiple contrasting insights. In one instance the resources are considered shared and common, in another strict accounting and boundaries are required. In one moment, everyone has the authority to make decision, in the next someone has to take charge. At times, the asking for and acquiring resources from everyone is celebrated, other times people convey their hesitation in making this happen. This contrast also applies when assessing the impact of the event, in making decisions about how what has been achieved is to be assessed, packaged, marketed, and presented. The contrast within the data presented in the consensus building dimensions has been summarised below in Table 13

	Communal outlook	Prudent outlook
Authority & decision making	No one is in charge, everyone is involved, everyone can decide together.	There has to be someone in charge
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.27, Data point 5.28, Data point 5.29, Data point 5.30, Data point 5.31, Data point 5.32, Data point 5.33	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.45, Data point 5.48, Data point 5.57, Data point 5.58,
Acquiring resources	There should be no shame in asking things for a just cause	Of course, there is some natural hesitation in asking for things.
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.17, Data point 5.18, Data point 5.19, Data point 5.20, Data point 5.21, Data point 5.22, Data point 5.23, Data point 5.24, Data point 5.25, Data point 5.26	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.41, Data point 5.42, Data point 5.43, Data point 5.44
Utilising resources	Use anything you can find; resources are shared and belong to everyone.	We cannot let outsiders use what we have – it is so little already
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.10, Data point 5.11, Data point 5.12, Data point 5.13, Data point 5.14, Data point 5.15	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.53, Data point 5.54, Data point 5.55, Data point 5.56
Setting boundaries	Inclusive open space – this is a space with no boundaries	Some basic boundaries are quite necessary
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.34, Data point 5.35, Data point 5.36, Data point 5.37, Data point 5.38, Data point 5.39, Data point 5.40	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.6, Data point 5.49, Data point 5.52, Data point 5.67, Data point 5.68, Data point 5.69, Data point 5.70
Assessing impact	Impact that such work has cannot be assessed with typical means, such efforts are futile.	The impact of the work does need to be documented and recognised, even if by unusual means.

	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.71, Data point 5.72, Data point 5.73	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.45, Data point 5.46, Data point 5.47, Data point 5.48

Table 13: Contradictions within consensus building: communal outlook vs prudent outlook

Nodes grouped under the theme consensus building are represented as below (see Figure 19). This figure shows sub-themes (NVivo nodes) grouped together under the theme (NVivo set). I have selected elements that were most visible within my data, but the empty circles represent the idea that multiple interpretations (and consequently themes) of consensus building are possible, and further, that the grouping is not exhaustive.

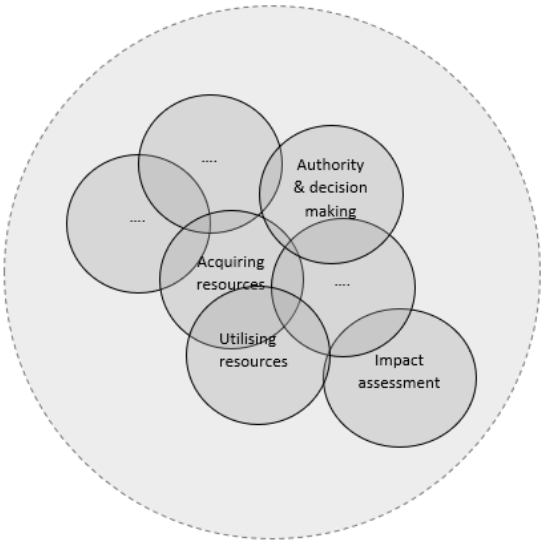


Figure 19: Nodes grouped under consensus building

5.2.4 Considering temporality and situational aspects of consensus building

The examples above utilise the day-to-day 'in the moment' work to demonstrate how consensus building is enacted through contradictory behaviours; the same argument can be sustained for behaviours extending over time. Decisions about the core nature of the events – evidenced through the ongoing questioning of their format, the extent of their formalisation and the value that these projects generated – are suitable examples that show how consensus was achieved over a longer time span. For instance, multiple formats of Share Fair were made possible: as a small pop up within another event, an independent Share Fair, a combined event with Big Lunch, a monthly or annually repeated event of different scales, a one-off event and as a concept that different projects applied through accepting certain central tenets – all of these were Share Fairs. The consensus, around what the Share Fair as a project was to be, had to be necessarily achieved through contradictory means spread over time – accepting something as workable in one instant and non-workable in another for the same or different location, and yet, naming it as the same thing. The organisers had to come to terms with what the core of the project was – which was done in an ambiguous manner. Another example is the Dorking Refugee Group (DRG), one of the informal groups supported multiple times through Rock4Refugees. DRG were an informal group in their early formation. A few months later they decided to take steps towards registering themselves as a formal charity, beginning by establishing a formal committee. However, the flexibility that was afforded to them when working informally was lost and there were too many issues whilst coordinating contrasting viewpoints/courses of actions in a formal mechanism. The group thus decided to abandon the committee and went back to working as

an informal organic network. Consensus around the impact assessment of both projects also generated multiple issues over time. The means of assessment that were used for other similar projects were sometimes haphazardly selected and later abandoned. What core value the projects generated was often better explained in vague terms rather than as countable specifics of money/engagement, and yet, the need to assess value generation was continuously acknowledged. The organisers had to both agree and disagree with aspects of this defining and agree/disagree on them together to achieve a consensus over what was needed to be done 'in the moment', this tentative understanding continually reinforced over time informed the nature of the projects over the whole period.

5.2.5 Conceptualising contradictory within consensus building

At times, both the behaviours that adopt a communal outlook or a prudent outlook are performed by same actors within different context and/or at different times. So, how do collaborators select the appropriate means of exercising their power? How do they select what would work in a given situation? How do they emphasize a lasting and appropriate (dominant) mode of behaviour given that the behaviours contradict each other over time? How do they make sure that others see this as appropriate? Similar to the discussions of dimension of ethicality, based on the inherent tensions within each element in Table 13, as well as the path and context dependant nature of the way in which these behaviours are performed, I propose the below model (see Figure 20) for organising one aspect of the relationship between the contradictory elements. In the given figure, the ends of the middle arrows indicate the possible choices for the behaviour. Leaning towards the right arrow indicates behaviour following a prudent outlook, whereas the left indicates behaviour following a communal outlook. Curved arrows indicate the awareness of constraints of any unchosen behaviour that enables the decision towards either direction.

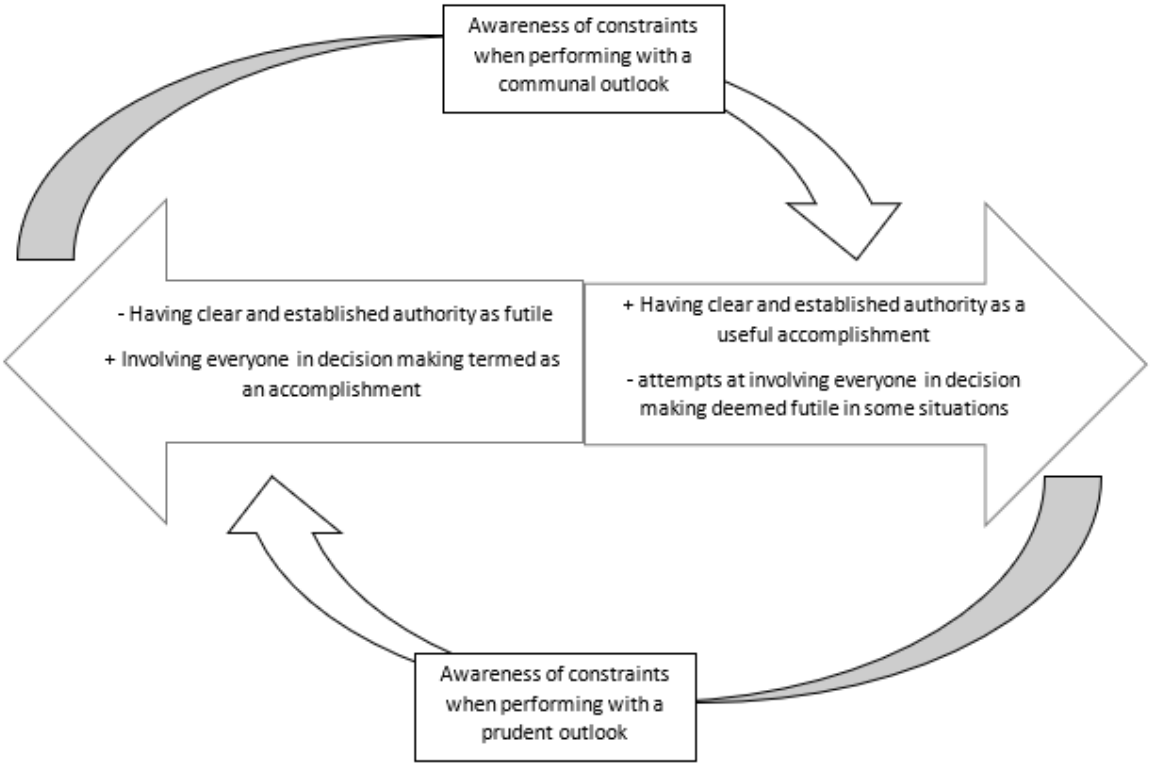


Figure 20: Conceptualising relationality within contradictory– consensus building dimension

As it was established for the ethicality dimensions, through viewing these contradictory modes of behaviours as relational we are able to better understand them in their contextual enactment. Collaborative actors are (albeit always partially) aware of multiple possibilities of their actions. The notion that 'they could have done otherwise' (Giddens, 2010) informs the choice of what is actually performed. As I have set out at the beginning of the discussion of the consensus building dimension, following of the norms (which were themselves reconstructed through the behaviours over time) was more common, breaking of norms was exceptional, yet both modes of behaviours were legitimated. The breaking of norms acted as much of a medium to restructuring of the norms as the following them was.

Based on the above figure, comparable modelling of the tension and interconnectedness between other aspects of consensus building is possible. These can be interpreted as questions that the collaborative actors had to answer (not necessarily verbally but through their actions). All the aspects discussed in the Table 13 can be posed as questions of 'how to': How to assess impact of the project? How to set boundaries for inclusion/exclusion? How to utilise the resources for the development of the project? How to go on about acquiring resources? How to (or if to) establish authority in collaborative work? And finally, how to achieve lasting consensus about the answers to the above questions? These were tricky/messy questions, and the organisers were consciously aware of that and tended to answer them vaguely. Strategic ambiguity promoted unified diversity. Similar to the tensions and interconnectedness depicted in Figure 20 for the resolution of the authority and decision-making aspect, all of the other aspects within Table 13 can be said to be joined up by the awareness of the constraints of the contrasting multiple other possibilities. These possibilities acted as answers to the above questions, which in turn, enabled any given behaviour. Hence, a modified version of the

original representation of the consensus building dimension is better suited to represent aspects of consensus building (see Figure 21). It shows multiple contradictory layers of these dimensions through which behaviour was made possible.

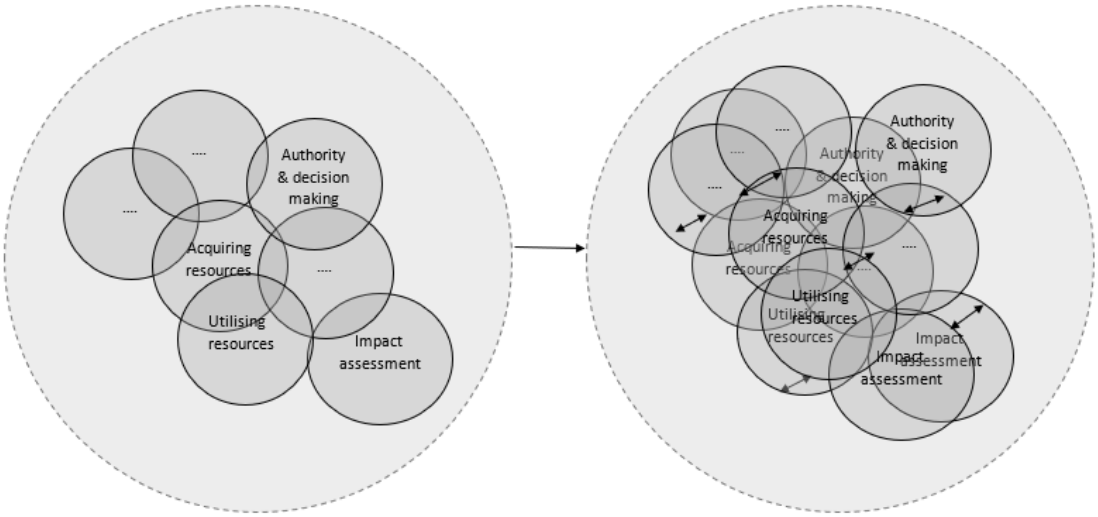


Figure 21: Modified grouped conception of nodes under consensus building

In the third and the last sections, I demonstrate how the contradictions within collaborative behaviour can be interpreted for the structure of signification, i.e., how people made collaborative work meaningful through the use of opposites and sustained fluid meanings.

5.3 Dimension of meaning making – performing boundary work (signification)

5.3.1 Defining meaning making – structure of signification

The notion of meaning making was also clearly defined during the fourth stage of analysis but has been a persistent key notion from the earliest stages of data collection and analysis. I noticed my participants were balancing seemingly opposite ideas during their collaborative work (social-work, formal-informal, inclusion-exclusion, measuring-experiencing) by allowing meaning of these to fluctuate contextually. The collaborators would set ad-hoc boundaries of meaning for each of these terms situationally and constantly re-defined them; I will discuss some of the most obvious examples of this kind of boundary work (based on Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005; Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010) below. It is to be noted that 1) such boundary work is situated and takes place simultaneously for the aspects I consider, not individually; and 2) the thematic separation I perform is interpretative and a necessary convenience to present my analytical insights. I make no claims that I had direct access to the reality of these meanings for my research informants. I have simply used the descriptor 'meaning making' to put together the acts that I interpret as contradictory and related to an *in-flux* boundary work by collaborators. These actions were related to how they defined or re-defined certain key terms. I have further used two descriptors 'unstructured approach and ''structured approach to separate and contrast opposite sides of this meaning making.

5.3.2 Key argument

The key argument presented in this section is that, within the informal collaborative work, the meanings of key terms were necessarily and purposefully kept fluid. The meanings were derived from

an emergent understanding of 'what something is not, right now'. This allowed the collaborators to remain flexible. By contrasting these terms against their negated part, the participants performed sensemaking through contradictions; I propose conceptualising these contradictions as relational.

5.3.3 Supporting evidence and discussion

5.3.3.1 Social – Work

Data shows evidence that participants actively tried to separate what they termed be social/personal and work. In the examples listed below the research informants made relatively clear distinctions between social and work by using the word 'work' as an adjective to separate various tasks from others – work-van, work-clothes, workday, and worktime. At times, it was deemed necessary to separate these ideas, one could speak more clearly when not wearing his/her work clothes. The work van was to be kept aside for work purposes; work area needed to be clearly marked; work time was carefully separated from personal time. However, more often than not these would blend together, and separation was notional at best.

Data point 5.59
SP1: Yes, it's his van. It's his work van.
SP3: And he can't do that for some of the other person?
SP1: You're asking the wrong person really.
SP2: Sorry. The thing is, the only other way to do it is if he can insure me on his van and then I would have the use of the van to do what I want.
SP1: I could… If it's a non-work thing for one day, it will cost pennies, but I'm sure we can use it.

Data point 5.60 "One of the superiors had at one point suggested that when you're travelling and when you're just staying in a hotel before a community event, sponsored by the core organisations, perhaps you could consider that as part of your holiday. That caused a big stink. People in the lower ranks rebelled against it. Surprisingly enough, when not formally forced to do so most of these people would happily do these tasks on their own time."

Data point 5.61 "Now, when I'm talking to J___ the other day, he's saying, after the event and out of his work context so he could speak a bit more freely than he would do in his work clothes. "

Data point 5.62 S___, she talked about making the flags, the big banner for the Boiler Room. It was a huge king-sized bed sheet from her own home, and she had been painting this for the last two weeks. She was quite keen on making the banner herself, so she sprawled it out in the living room, and the kids were not allowed to go in the living room, they had to walk all around. The living room became the workspace. The kids and N___ had taken the stuff they would need out. She was obsessed with her paints and had taken the whole area over for this project.

Data point 5.63 J___ suggested that typically she uses the time for traveling as well as for taking part in the event as part of the workday. And generally, the manager's good enough to allow for that. C___ said that even the after-event dinner that we had yesterday with local organisers can be considered as part of the work because you've still got your work clothes on. J___ added that tomorrow was her day off, but she still needed to sort some emails and purchasing "I couldn't choose not to do it just because I'm on holiday. If I don't do that then it's just not going to happen. So, I need to make sure that it takes place." C___ agreed but then suggested that she should use that as, again, time against her allocated outside-work quota.

There are a number of ways in which a contradictory separation is being performed through division of work-social. The divide is clearly marked through language, material as well as the temporal aspects. Research informants talk about work-things as separate from non-work things. They separate work clothes, work van, work area using specific tactile materials. Tents created for Share Fair had specific areas allocated for certain task. Clear, although informal, instructions were provided at Rock4Refugees 'when on event floor we do not drink'. The 'time spent on the work tasks' was calculated by the individuals; the term 'work time' was understood and negotiated at individual level. However, as the conversations indicate, the process of creating this understanding is only partially individual. The interpretive schemes(modalities) used to construct this understanding rely on other clearly marked organisational (what my manager allows) and social (such as in good faith) constructs. Further, the incidents surrounding the collaborative work, such as ones above, were co-constructed, told, and retold. For example, the story of the 'holiday leave incident' above acted as an analogy. It was used as a resource to understand what is considered *acceptable;* it became the folklore of the collaborative work. The minutiae of conversation that make such storytelling possible conveyed the *acceptable* elements of the story – i.e., what is allowed in one particular context. Multiple other examples of such boundary work 'through engaging with the seemingly opposite' are further evident.

5.3.3.2 Inclusion – Exclusion

One of the other key terms for the collaborative work was inclusion. This was considered a core aspect of community events. Collaborators clarified an insistence on inclusivity and attempted to achieve it through their collaborative work. This was noted as a goal and an inherent value and was explicitly discussed through examples of wanting to include certain groups – vulnerable, isolated, homeless, refugees etc.

Data point 5.64 *"This should be a place where a homeless guy and a guy who is rather well off can sit on the same bench and do not feel out of place. The problem now with markets is that they are either very beautiful, like farmer's markets, in which case you have to take a small mortgage out in order to be able to go to one. So, they're not available to everybody."*

Data point 5.65 *"What he kept saying constantly is that this sense of community is fading. Simple acts that show kindness and reciprocity have gone out of fashion. The things that they are doing for refugees, him and his wife, would definitely constitute things that are more community centred and he wants everyone involved, he wants everyone to be at receiving end as well as at the giving end of communal togetherness."*

Data point 5.66 *She spoke now that her views have changed. She referred to conversation between us once where we almost concluded that Share Fair is based on an anti-capitalistic ideology. But now she does not think so. She says "If we think of it like this, we will exclude local businesses and financial sources and that is not in the spirit of Share Fair; it is and should be an inclusive space. "*

However, the understanding around inclusivity was itself constructed by creating clearer boundaries to begin with; the excluded had to be pre-defined as *others* in an effort to reach them and get them included in the efforts. The collaborative projects still needed to stand out to establish themselves as 'different and inviting' and marked their territories. Organisers, while all expected to be on par in terms of their involvement, contributed differently and that naturally affected decision making and ownership perception – there were 'inner circles'. Additionally, the community that insisted on inclusivity was quite tightly knit and it was not always easy for an outsider to easily slide in the circle; this was identified as an issue and openly worked at. Another factor that affected inclusion was the

fact that the projects were trying to raise money or to apply for funding and they still needed to compete with others; this meant that clearer definitions of 'who this is for' needed to be drafted rather than simply indicating 'everyone', which the collaborators would have preferred to do.

Data point 5.67 *"I wanted some height, because even at that point I was thinking, we're needing to show that this a different zone to everything else. So, we need to be able to mark it out without pushing people away."*

Data point 5.68 *"It's a community that's quite engaged within themselves. So, they're accepting, but it would have been weird to just try and go sit down on that table where already a group of six or seven people are seated and having a conversation. And to join in where I have no idea what it is that they're talking about or who it is about. So, there was no room for me to easily and naturally get involved in the setting that wasn't made for strangers "*

Data point 5.69 *"H____ agreed and said that money can be a barrier to these things and when people pay for something (as core organisers/volunteers) and other may not want to, it creates a barrier right away."*

Data point 5.70 *We needed to clearly identify who this will be benefitting. And as it won't be the local groups this time, we decided to skip on the funding pots that were quite clearly marked for these groups.*

Similar to the personal-work divide, the inclusion-exclusion division is situationally and contextually modified. Collaborators continually operated with two opposing ideas (some clear boundaries were necessary but also that the flexibility in keeping the scope of the project wide was necessary) and tried balancing them simultaneously to move forward. Getting everyone involved was the wider goal but it could only be achieved by creating some boundaries at the start. It was necessary to be inclusive and open but limited resources meant that projects could only be directed at a certain audience, at least, for a limited time. These practical limitations also affected how the projects were experienced by research informants.

5.3.3.3 Measuring – Experiencing

Another contradictory aspect of meaning making was regarding the relationship that the organisers had with the collaborative project in terms of its impact. There was tension between being personally involved to experience the project and being objectively distant to be able to measure/assess its outcomes. The embodied involvement was often marked as something quite unique and something that the organisers needed to feel.

Data point 5.71 *"Things like this, it can't just be rolled out"*

Data point 5.72 *"You have to get a feel for it, otherwise that's not how this works"*

Data point 5.73 *Apparently, at one point in the discussion, someone said that 'What happens if it rains? What happens if we are never able to do this thing? On the day, what if something goes wrong?" One of the ladies remarked that, 'You know what, even if the event itself doesn't happen, the last three weeks have been enough for me. Being together with everyone and planning itself has been a great experience.' […]. This story stuck with him because it's not necessarily the actual event that made the most sense to the person, but rather the process that was leading up to it, it was the build-up.*

On the other hand, considering the future orientation of the projects, it was necessary to generate detailed impact assessments and feedback. Core organisers had to balance their responsibility as a medium of that assessment against their role as an active participant in the event. And yet, when others focused on measurements, evaluation and criticism, research informants spoke out in favour of experiencing the 'life' of it. They often understood both sides of the issue and had to advocate on one or the other depending on the situation.

Data point 5.74 *"Yes, she gave me a list of criticisms and part of my writing the email back [I said], you have to look at what you've achieved. It was to actually say and now tell me three things that you were really pleased about."*

Data point 5.75 *Absolutely. No, absolutely, I'm fed [Laughs] Yes, absolutely. And also, I get a level of, as I say, validation so when I walk into a place and turn around, I'm from the Eden Project that actually – so therefore the Eden Project actually do have to keep a good close eye on what I'm doing because they can't afford for that reputation to fall into mayhem in any way. So, I kind of get all that; I just sometimes go [makes strangled noise].*

Data point 5.76 *"He thinks that the current model of 50-50 ownership of APCA is likely to change. The government is likely to cut costs for them and would want less and less to do with it. So, the role of charities as a formal business organisation is becoming a norm. While he thinks that there is some value to it -. Charities can have a more formal structure and should form a business plan - he firmly believes that the social impact that many of the initiatives create cannot be measured in financial terms."*

The tension between measuring and experiencing the impact of the collaborative project was a recurring topic of discussion. Collaborators continually operated with two paradoxical ideas – measuring the impact is absolutely necessary/useful versus the idea that measuring the impact is not as useful as actually experiencing the project. One could not be lost in the pursuit of the other; balancing them together to move forward was often termed the best option. What that meant however, was that each was defined in relation to the other as contrasting and yet both meanings were interchangeably employed.

5.3.3.4 Formal – Informal

As mentioned earlier, meaning making through boundary work takes place simultaneously for the aspects I have considered, not individually. In that sense, the formal-informal divide can be considered an umbrella term which encompasses all of the aspects outlined thus far. For my interpretations below, formality is associated with officially registering the organisation/project, documentation regarding health and safety, written consideration of goals, minutes/agendas for meetings, clear records of activities etc. On the other hand, informality is associated with avoidance of the formal aspects, encouraging on-the-spot decision making, spur of the moment changes to the plans and being able to be flexible on the goals as well as their implementation. Again, both the things were considered necessary and were defined only in contrasting relation to one another.

Informal aspects of the project were often revered for their usefulness.

Data point 5.77 *"It is more important that we are organic because let's say a camp gets shut down and people move there and then the people in different parts of the area are helping and then we can more effectively respond to this flexible issue as and when it happens. Because it is volunteer led, you know, we don't have any one person who can sort of spend full time on it (registration).*

We perhaps lack the coordination that is needed locally. So, you know it is easier for us to say let's have a collection in two weeks... let's get in contact with the people in Calais, let's find out what they need in two weeks and appeal for that we can be quite quick like that. When we had the Rock for refugees, we held back on the cause that we were appealing for the money for the first month because everything changes."

Data point 5.78 *"They do not have a name for this project yet. I'm not entirely sure if officially it's a fifth or sixth or fourth meeting, but not having an official name for it is again…just so fantastic. It seems to me that this is something that should have been agreed the very first time. But again, this shows that that's not necessarily…that's not how the organising works apparently in this instance."*

People who were comfortable moving between the formal informal were considered apt to carry out collaborative work. Someone who could get around the formality, legality and accountability and still show evidence of abiding by it (if need be) was deemed to have the 'right stuff' to perform collaborative work.

Data point 5.79 *"We need people who are able to just get stuff done. They don't think about petrol money, or insurance, or what would happen if something went wrong. They should also be able to do these when needed. But these people are not fussing over these little things but are just able to get stuff done."*

Data point 5.80 *I was left in charge of two open huts plus a van load of material that includes two big tents, lots of expensive stuff. There is the issue of liability if something happened if something went wrong. And then I was there, I was happy to…, and I'm being sensible and reasonable about it. Nothing's likely to happen. It's just a small amount of time. But from an organisation perspective, I think it is important sometimes that this, you know, this lack of accountability becomes a necessity. Because of the way the situation is unfolding due to lack of funds or lack of labour or other resources…situations are being created that require a lack of accountability to balance out the lack of resource.*

Given that these meanings were so interchangeably employed, it was unsurprising that sometimes people perceived the same thing as both formal and informal. A meeting is deemed as informal by one participant whereas the other thinks it has more formal elements than were expected.

Data point 5.81 *"When I went to a planning meeting, I thought it would be like the committee stuff, I hadn't expected to just huddle up, and food … [it was] just a get-together really, and still, we ended up getting lot of stuff done"*

Data point 5.82 *"The meeting was pleasantly surprising and very useful. It was also more organised and less as the impression that T___ had created earlier. The original idea was that we would meet in the pub for a pint and then just go over a few things. While that was technically true, there was a lot more order to the meeting – there were agenda points, they gave handouts, people made notes."*

The meaning keeps moving between the formal-informal, a clear understanding is purposefully not provided. Organisers actively suggested that both things were required. Some structure and formality were useful, and it would be great to achieve them, but that could be best achieved through means that were unstructured and informal.

Data point 5.83 *"After the event, our casual stroll around the woods, which the organiser was someday hoping to convert into a community garden, suddenly turns into an informal consultation…there was advice from everyone about means, some conventional, some a lot less conventional, ways to stimulate the local community and establish her rights with respect to communal land, what evidence councils look for, how to manage legal obstacles from nearby businesses, how this could be venue for the next Share Fair[…] the discussion keeps jumping back and forth from personal to what I would say more or less professional […] parts of this talk, I would expect them to take place in legal consultants office, and perhaps to pay a hefty fee for them"*

Data point 5.84 *"You have to be open to opportunities when they present themselves – be open to serendipity. Because if you have too firm a plan about what to expect, about what you want people to do, you'll miss the open doors and what's actually being offered. If you try and impose too much structure, you end up frustrated and unable to develop the strategies for dealing with multiple communities, individuals, and organisations – and these inevitably vary greatly across different locations. Of course, it would be much more comfortable if we could plan a more knowable, predictable structure – but Share Fairs can't work that way, they have to adapt to those who show up on the day."*

Similar to the discussion of dimensions of ethicality and consensus building, the data above yields multiple contrasting insights. Flexibility is fostered through the use of contradictions. What is considered social in one instance is considered work related in the other. Same thing can be considered formal or informal. Some boundaries are created which help decide how the venture can be more inclusive. The tension between embodied involvement and distant assessment is clearly identified. It is thought best to separate the meanings of social-work, inclusion-exclusion, measuring-experiencing or formal-informal (among others), but the process is also recognised as futile because the meanings are considered to be *in flux*. Using two more descriptors (NVivo sets) unstructured approach and structured approach I have organised these contrasting insights below in Table 14

	Structured approach	Unstructured approach
Separating social and work	- Clear attempts to separate personal life and work, albeit with questionable success - Clear boundaries or attempts to create them viewed as accomplishments	- Few attempts to separate personal and work, with acceptance of its futility - Entanglement of the two and the joy derived from that is treated as accomplishment
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.3, Data point 5.6, Data point 5.59, Data point 5.60, Data point 5.61	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.1, Data point 5.2, Data point 5.62, Data point 5.63
Separating inclusion and exclusion	Some boundaries considered necessary to set out who can be involved in what parts of the process	Insistence on including everyone in the organising process as well as the events
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.5, Data point 5.6, Data point 5.49, Data point 5.50, Data point 5.52, Data point 5.67, Data point 5.68, Data point 5.69, Data point 5.70	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.34, Data point 5.40, Data point 5.64, Data point 5.66

Separating experiencing and measuring	Measuring the impact and generating feedback considered fundamental for the future orientation of the project	Experiencing the project through embodied involvement considered to be more important than measurement and feedback
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.45, Data point 5.46, Data point 5.47, Data point 5.48, Data point 5.74, Data point 5.75, Data point 5.76	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.71, Data point 5.72, Data point 5.73
Separating formal and informal	Importance of formal aspects such as documentation, legality, accountability, and others are clearly recognised	Moving beyond formalities considered important for this specific kind of collaborative work
	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.45, Data point 5.46, Data point 5.47, Data point 5.48, Data point 5.55, Data point 5.58, Data point 5.82	Supporting evidence: Data point 5.9, Data point 5.77, Data point 5.78, Data point 5.79, Data point 5.80, Data point 5.81, Data point 5.83, Data point 5.84

Table 14: Contradictions within meaning making dimension - structured vs unstructured

Similar to other themes, nodes grouped under the meaning making dimension are represented as interconnected (see Figure 23). This figure shows sub-themes (NVivo nodes) grouped together under the theme (NVivo set). Empty circles represent the idea that multiple interpretations (and consequently sub-themes) of meaning making are possible, and further, that the grouping is not exhaustive.

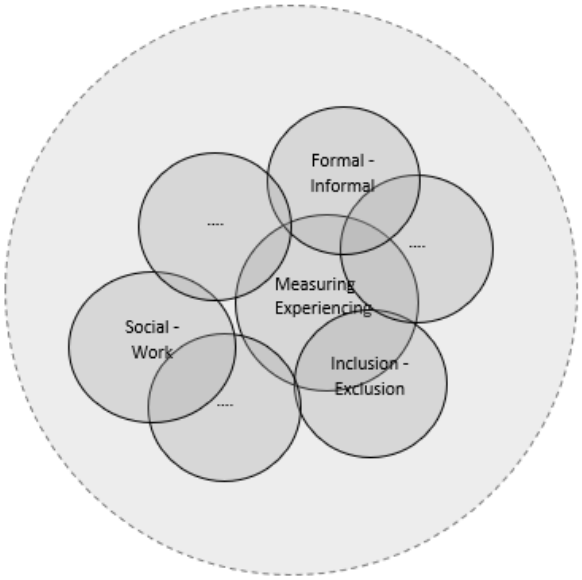


Figure 22: Nodes grouped under meaning making

5.3.4 Considering temporality and situational aspects of meaning making

The examples above rely on day-to-day aspect of collaborative work. There is a constant effort to separate entities (formal-informal or work-social), but this separation does not hold. The labels do not refer to definite notions but only to a construct that is convoluted and ever-changing. As denoted by

my research informants themselves, the personal/social is continually conflated with work. While the clarity of separations does not hold, and the participants are aware of its futility, the motions are still carried out. The labels that do not matter are still imposed. Although the workspace is separated from personal space, both are intertangled. Work equipment is still used for personal means; personal time is still used as work time and vice versa.

This practice of purposefully maintaining strategic ambiguity towards *what something means* was employed over time. This became 'way of doing things' during collaborative work. As I have consistently pointed out in previous themes, the understanding behind collaborative practices is built through 'in-the-moment' action. Such actions, as my data clearly evidences, take on contrasting forms and retain fluid meanings. Here I use the word action in the widest sense that covers the durée of the being and conflates all the analytical levels in practice of coming to terms with the concept of meanings. Hence, my analysis necessarily breaks action down in simplistic criteria (for one moment in time) but any such separation, due to its continuous temporal nature, cannot be sustained; when we look at the phenomenon over time, the meanings remain purposefully open. In that sense, the ongoing nature of this is truer for the dimension of meaning making than any other dimensions of collaborative work that I have discussed previously. What participants did day-to-day, in turn, created rules for what they could do over time. As the things they performed day-to-day were paradoxical and had open meanings, even over time, these key terms did not gain a concrete meaning. But keeping the meaning open and flexible allowed participants to situationally perform and do what was necessary to keep the project going.

5.3.5 Conceptualising contradictory within meaning making

Similar to the themes of ethicality and consensus building, it is useful to steer away from questions of what something meant and rather focus on *how* that meaning was created over time. In doing so, it is possible to connect the seemingly contradictory insights that my data generates. Accordingly, same task can be deemed personal or work related based on the situation; often, the label attributed could change over time, even for the same task by the same actor. In one situation measuring the impact was considered more important, in another experiencing the project was clearly more important than any impact assessment. Depending on situation, these exact same modes of collaborative working were deemed either formal or informal and sometimes both. This was based not only on the subjective interpretation of their actions but also through the labels that people imposed on themselves. I have identified numerous such contradictions above in Table 14 where people performing collaborative work separate two seemingly opposite entities. I reiterate my argument that this act of separation is only seemingly contradictory if the interpretive purpose is the identification of 'what ___ can be defined as?' rather than exploring 'how' of that defining process. The separation is not paradoxical, contradictory, random, rational, or irrational, it is simply required in constituting the meaning of a situated act. Based on the inherent tensions within each element, as well as the path and context dependant nature of the way in which these behaviours are performed, I propose the below model (see Figure 23) for organising one aspect of the relationship between contradictory elements in Table 14. In the given figure, the ends of the middle arrows indicate the possible choices for the behaviour. Leaning towards the right arrow indicates meaning making in a more structured approach, whereas the left indicates meaning making in an unstructured approach. Curved arrows indicate the awareness of constraints of any unchosen behaviour that enables the decision towards either direction.

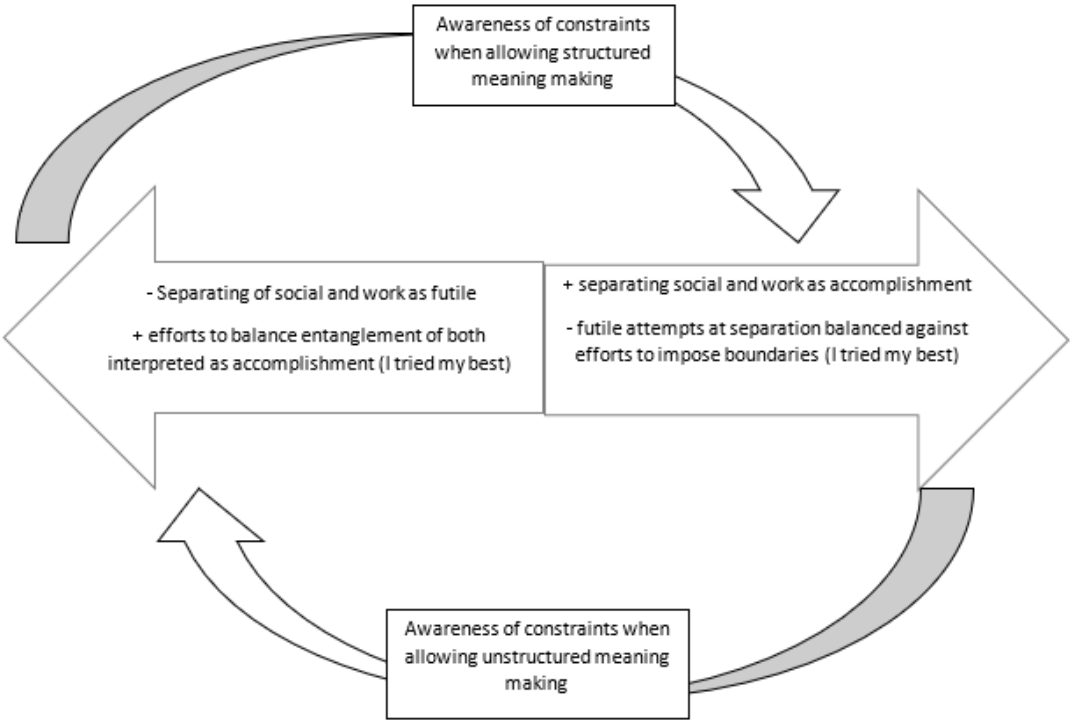


Figure 23: Conceptualising relationality within contradictory– meaning making dimension

Through conceiving these elements as connected rather than separate or opposite, I argue that we are better able to see how the relationality of contradictory behaviours can be understood in the contextual enactment. Based on above the figure, comparable modelling of the tension and interconnectedness between other aspects of ethicality is possible. Using the same key as in Figure 23 (middle arrows indicating two possible ends of contradictory behaviour(s) and curved arrow indicating enabling nature of the awareness of constraints of other possible behaviour(s), I propose a model for their relationality of all other aspects considered in Table 14. Weaving the idea that the interconnected aspects of meaning making are themselves informed by inherent tensions I suggest conceptualising them as below in Figure 24. The elements remain connected by their tensions but separate at the same time due to momentary actions taken by actors in defining them, they make sense together.

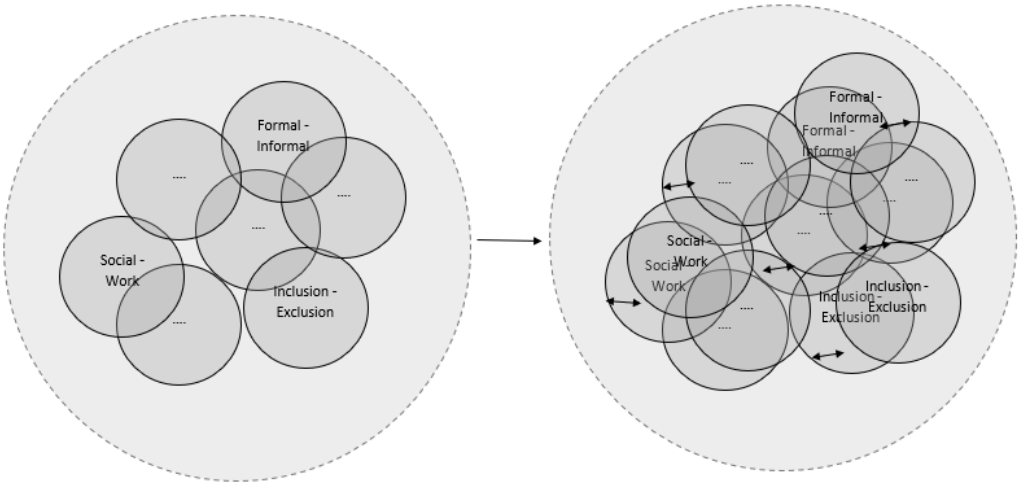


Figure 24: Modified grouped conception of nodes under meaning making

The following section discusses how these various conceptualisations of elements within ethicality, consensus building and meaning making dimensions can be understood together.

5.4 Navigating strategic intent – the *human* work of collaboration

In this final section, I consider how the understanding from my interpretations thus far can be applied to and extended beyond the immediate context of informal collaborations. I briefly reiterate what the sections have identified so far. Then applying a structurationist imagination, I offer a plausible explanation of how collaborative work is generally performed. By exhibiting the interrelatedness between signification, legitimisation, and domination, I propose a model of conceptual space within which actors exercise their agency by performing *human* work of collaboration in-the-moment. My conceptualisation of *human* work of collaboration creates a potential basis for connecting other theoretical perspectives which have looked at collaboration. In that sense, my interpretations in this last section act as a bridge between my findings presented thus far and the discussion chapter to follow.

A sidenote on the value of such abstract theorising. Rather than on its detailed empirical grounding across multiple contexts, such explanation/hypothesizing should be judged on its internal logical consistency and its plausibility (Halkier, 2011). As I have noted in introduction, the value of such endeavour lies in the potential ability of the created concepts to stretch and adapt to multiple contexts (Poole *et al.*, 2000; Van De Ven and Poole, 2005). Reiterating what Van Maanen notes: "[abstracting from case] triggers what seems to be a deep and abiding fear of the particularistic among critics of ethnography who wonder what, if anything, can be learned from a 'mere case'. The smart-ass but wise answer to this hackneyed but commonplace question is 'all we can' […] The universal it seems can be found in the particular" (2010 p. 227). In this concluding section, I will begin sketching a picture of the *universal* of the collaborative work using the *particular* within the informal context.

5.4.1 Within the context - ethicality, consensus building & meaning making in informal collaborations

The organising followed in the informal context is riddled with contradictions at an interpersonal level. People performing collaborative work are both tireless heroes and biased guardians when deciding what is the right thing to do. They employ both a communal and prudent outlook when building

consensus. They play with opposite and contradictory meanings of terms to test and figure out what their actions created. Through doing all of these things, they personalise the collaborative work for themselves and the other actors.

The personalised nature of informal collaborative work is starkly evident in the data that I have demonstrated in analysis. The *doing* of informal collaborative work is unique for some very peculiar reasons: the focus of collaborators was **not** on identifying a perfect plan, a well-oiled process, or a very suitable means of making certain work possible anywhere, anytime by anyone. In the situations that I observed, actors were resisting attempts to create a dehumanised or abstract means/process of performing work that could be appropriated regardless of context.

"Things like this, it can't just be rolled out"

"You have to get a feel for it, otherwise that's not how this works"

"It has to be for them, it has to be flexible to fit who shows up on the day"

As the quotes show, collaborators were aware that work they performed in a specific situation could not be *rolled out* to other arenas as it is. Being there, getting a feel for it and being flexible about the plans made the informal collaborative work possible. Collaborators were constantly struggling to gain control of this unpredictable work while trying to mitigate their own anxiety. As a result, at a personal level, the participants had to manage massive uncertainty.

"And I was thinking I have no… I mean, I can make an idealist model of what I would like it to look like, but I don't know what this is… I don't even know whether people will respond to this. I don't know how they're going to react to this."

"You do as much as you can, knowing that each fold and tidy will help the right person find the right gift, but accepting that there's a certain happy chaos to the whole event and that above all, your job is never done."

"And you have to learn there is a point in the process… In the doing of those community events. That in order to make something marvellous happen, there's a point where you go, 'it's going to amazing; we're going to have this, we're going to do that'. And in your head, you can go [makes overwhelmed/panicky noise]. And then there is a point where you go and now it will be what it will be. And you let all of that go. Because that was only useful in getting you to a certain stage. And I think people who aren't used to doing it, continue to compare what actually happens with what they've had in their heads before. And then they don't let that go. And then they go, oh but this didn't happen and that didn't happen. And you're going woah, woah, woah, woah, woah, you have to look at what did happen."

The day-to-day work within this context shows us that the organisers' own anxiety, their euphoria, their joy, their celebrations, aspects of their personal life, their need to control, their ambitions and many more things shaped a substantial part of the collaborative work. This is because a sense of normalcy and control was preferable over the continual ontological anxiety that the contextual uncertainty created. Utilising what they already know – not from a workplace perspective but rather their own personal life and the social self, they translated the techniques from one realm to another. They recognised collaborative projects as not an everyday phenomenon, while still crafting them through their knowledge of everyday life. This meant that resisting definite systemness or standardisation and focusing on personalising and modifying the work as they saw fit. I will reinforce this point with a final example below.

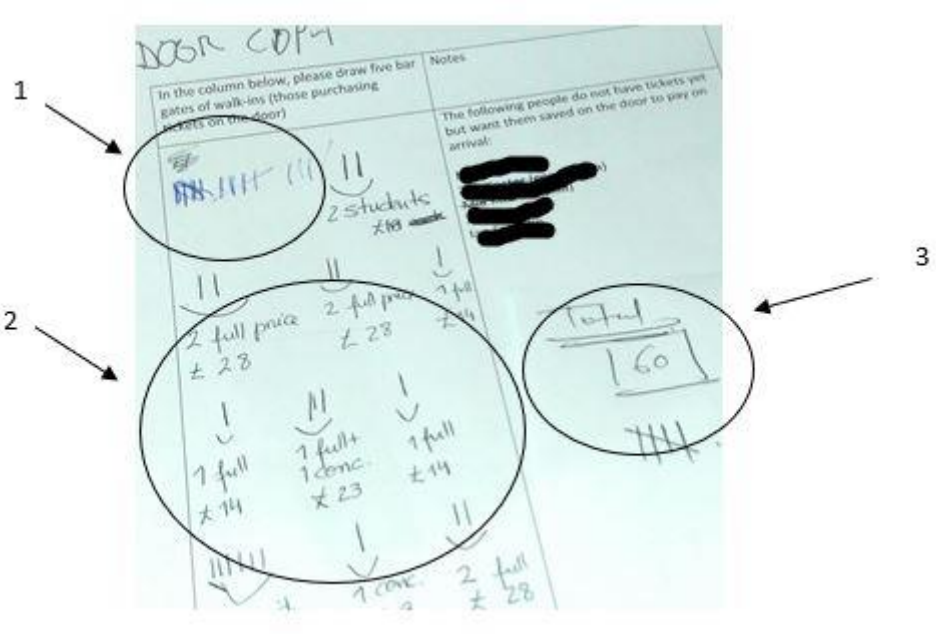


Image 36: Diverse means of task completion (sections separated)

Even in a small example like the count sheet (see Image 36 above) the leeway and personalisation are clearly visible. In the above picture of a door count sheet, the task asked of the persons manning front house was to keep a tab of how many people enter the venue. The organising tool used towards accountability (attendance as well as health and safety – only X number of people could be in the venue at one time) is a simple one here – five bar count. We can see an interesting variation in the way it has been used. The first person uses it in a rather atypical and inconsistent manner, perhaps erasing count to indicate people who arrived early but left. No notes are left to indicate if that is so. The second person switches to a more elaborate style of grouping people by their payment methods and further indicating whether people arriving together were paying the same amount. The third person tallies the total of people so far by the time she starts and continues with a rather typical five bar tally. This task needs to be explained with the context of how this was handed over - which was non-existent. No handover was possible or provided, the situation was far too chaotic for such process – it was not clear who the next person taking over the task will be, nor did the person doing it necessarily knew who was doing it before. What is unusual is not that the same thing (five bar count) was used differently by different people (an occurrence that is a common sensical truism at best) but that it was considered *acceptable*. This was the 'way of doing things' in informal collaborative projects. It was expected and understood as the *norm*; it was simply how things happened; rather, this 'way of doing things' was itself the collaborative work. There were no significant efforts to correct or systematise these differences but only a visible effort to accommodate them 'to just make it work'.

In these situations, the participants drew on an abstract and dehumanised organising principle (notion of counting) and tools (five bar count above - multiple other such examples are possible- agenda points, meeting minutes, feedback mechanisms). However, the focus was always on translating these tools contextually to make them work for the situational aspects and the people involved. The actors recognise the *others* (here, other collaborators) as different and yet simultaneously similar, i.e., afford them agentic space. Furthermore, they had a discursive awareness that they were performing this translation and they show explicit insistence on doing so. The diachronic aspect of this behavioural intent is visible in the day-to-day actions of the participants; as the description in sections 4.1.6 and 4.2.6 has shown, the core 'performing on the day' entails dealing with spatially close and/or familiar

uncertainty (of events or people) and providing personalised solutions to overcome it. The organising principles do come into play but remain tenuous and almost extraneous, only visible in their translated form in the action. Further, conscious efforts to solidify/formalise them are visibly rare or non-existent.

The phenomenon I observed remains insistently informal, unstructured and in doing so reaps a different kind of reward from the process. The synchronic features of this phenomena are seen within the reoccurrence of this *human* behaviour observed throughout my data over time. Over different events, different locations, even different actors and actions, and seemingly completely unrelated events, a visible pattern of 'a way of dealing with chaos' – a sense – emerges. This sense is certainly wider than simply discursive, and it is beyond what I could express in the written word; as it is to be partly understood through ethnographic immersion; through *being there* and *performing it*. But it is especially and sharply evident if the observer is outsider in some way to the field. I suggest that through the enacting and re-enacting of deep contradictions within the collaborative setting that I have identified above, actors are continuously trying to restructure this sense. Structuration theory offers a possibility to systematically organise this sense (as enactments visible through contradictions) and makes it possible to view it through the concepts of structures of signification, domination, and legitimisation. Application of the structurationist concepts helps to construct a descriptive understanding of agency, which is what I have done.

Hence, as my interpretations have illustrated, performing the day-to-day aspects of informal collaborative work is accomplished by enacting and maintaining contradictions at an interpersonal level. These contradictions, whether it is around establishing ethicality, finding means of achieving consensus or making and sustaining fluid meanings, all have their roots in the variations of a core question that the actors are constantly asking themselves: 'how to'. As said before, collaborative actors are both a tireless hero as well as a biased guardian, perform with a prudent as well as communal outlook and sustain fluid contrasting meanings to make sense of the initiatives; they perform collaborative work by maintaining and reshaping interpersonal contradictions. This partly answers my research question, 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?'

5.4.2 Beyond the context - linking ethicality, consensus building & meaning making within collaborations

The answer I have offered above is specific to the informal context of collaboration. As I see it, part of the value of structurationist perspective lies in its ability to generate such contextual explanations. However, what is even more useful when considering structuration is stretching a *particular* contextual explanation analytically to a more *universal* one. There is support in doing this within ethnographic tradition (Van Maanen, 2010) and this strengthens the analysis of strategic conduct by linking it to institutionalisation, both of which are entangled in practice (Giddens, 1984, 2010). Given the wide variety of activities under the label 'collaborative work', this analytical generalisation through positioning (Halkier, 2011) remains a modest exercise and I do not make claims to grounded or empirical knowledge of collaborative performance beyond my immediate context. Nevertheless, I believe that the below theoretical explanation should invoke an appealing sense of familiarity in those interested in collaborations.

To create this theoretical explanation, I further abstract the behaviour of actors. I have shown that the day-to-day collaborative work includes maintaining and reshaping contradictions at an interpersonal level. This is accomplished by borrowing on the social, the cultural and the self, by translating these aspects to the immediate situation, and by making the organising process personal.

I have also shown that this sense – 'a way of dealing with chaos' – was recurrent across different projects, different events, actors, and situations. Using this argument, I suggest that **collaborators consciously humanise the organising practices, only tenuously relying on, and in turn modifying the 'dehumanised organising principles' that shape the collaborative work**. I have termed this the *human* work of collaboration.

This forms the first half of the theoretical explanation to my research question 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' When using a structurationist perspective, agentic intervention is to be understand simultaneously against a structural space (that is enabling and constraining) within which it is performed. As agency and structure are understood as a duality, structure enables and constrains agentic intervention and agentic intervention (re)shapes structures, both taking place simultaneously. Hence, what is required to complete my theoretical explanation is detailing of conceptual space within which above *human* work of collaboration takes place, against a backdrop of temporality. I consider the temporality first and then discuss the cognitive-structural space.

As I have discussed, viewed through the process of structuration, the core contradictions in the collaborative behaviour manifest themselves in multiple forms through the structures of signification, legitimisation, and domination. The strategic intent of guiding and repeating such collaborative work is where the seemingly repetitive patterns emerge. What ensues is a peculiar kind of chaos that feels organised and directed at a few random instances and over time. This is not surprising as it is carried out (and sometimes studied) by reflexive agents. These contradictions (that are multilevel and multi-layered) are connected temporally, through the actions of the agent. The separation and holding together of these contradictory aspects occur simultaneously, or as I have termed it 'in the moment'. For example, the separation of the concept 'work' against 'personal' is an aspect within the dimension of ethicality, however, it is also an aspect featuring within the dimension of meaning making. As shown in Figure 16 and Figure 18 the elements co-exist 'in the moment' and are partially held together and separated as the moment passes. This moment then, is not the time measured from the outside (physiological or biological time) but is defined from within and through the act. It is the time taken by the agent in separating these aspects and joining them together. This notion of time used to separate and join these aspects reintroduces the dimension of temporality into my analytical frame (also outlined in 5.1.4, 5.2.4 and 5.3.4). For some of these decisions it could be mere seconds, for other decisions it may take months to unfold. If, when compared against the other measures of time, the togetherness of the elements persists, and a similar togetherness can be observed across various agents for similar durations of the time, the boundedness of such decision can be said to have an institutional characteristic. In collaborative work I have discussed, such institutional aspects were far less prominent.

To identify the conceptual space within which actors employ agency, we can reconcile these various contradictions and see them as inter-related and connected. Typically, for an abstract understanding of how social institutions usually *come to be* Giddens suggests below

S-D-L	Symbolic orders/modes of discourse
D(authorisation)-S-L	Political institutions
D(allocation)-S-L	Economic institutions
L-D-S	Legal institutions

Where S=signification, D=domination, L=legitimation (Giddens, 1984, p.33)

Although structuration theory makes a fair attempt to identify the extent to which most institutions take form though the processes of interaction between S-D-L, D-S-L, L-D-S etc , Giddens (1984, 2010)

stresses that the process is not necessarily unidirectional or causal. Also, the transformation (from S to D to L, for instance) occurs simultaneously. For the loose institutional character of collaborative projects that I have described, there is lack of direction. At best, what exists is an organisational system in its infancy without any high degree of institutional character (see Figure 25).

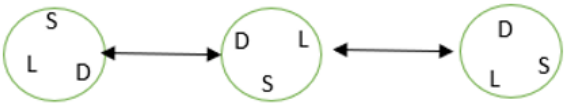


Figure 25: Interaction of structures in collaborative work

My interpretation of their structuration is similar to Craib's interpretation of Giddens' later position (2011, p.37), who explains "A point that Giddens develops consistently in his later work, but which is there from the very beginning, is that social systems are open—or at least their 'closedness' is always problematic […] The systems themselves will be more or less open and perhaps combined in many different ways. In any case, they are not natural or mechanical systems, but patterns produced and monitored by reflexive human action." As I see it, in the same vein, the collaborative work discussed here can be a fitting illustration of this *irredeemable openness*. There is only a marginal sense of systemness or institutional character to the day-to-day work of agents when they make collaborative projects happen. The lack of systemness – the problematic closedness and openness at the same time is very persistent in the projects that I have described. Using analytical generalisation, I would conjecture that this is not dependant on context, type, locality, or size of collaborative work but can be stretched to other instances of collaborative work; while the extent may be different, the openness of the system should persist in different degrees.

In sections 5.1.5, 5.2.5 and 5.3.5, accounting for the multiple contradictions that exist within them, I had proposed a modified conception of the various aspects of the three dimensions. Using the representation of each of the dimensions (ethicality, consensus building and meaning making related respectively to structures of legitimisation, domination and signification) in Figure 18, Figure 21 and Figure 24, I propose a model for interactions between the three dimensions as below (see Figure 26).

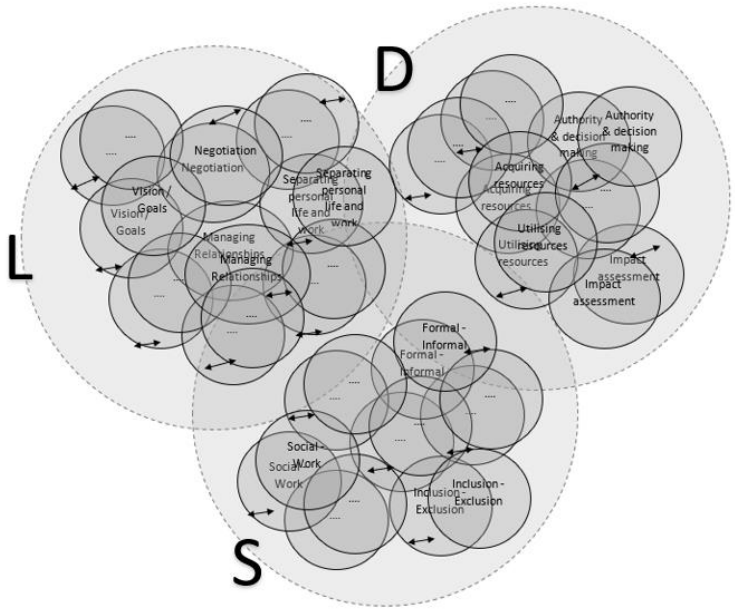


Figure 26: Interaction of three dimensions of collaborative work

As I have explained above, the aspects within these dimensions are closed and open at the same time and interact together at/during in-the-moment of collaborative work. The temporal element that allows the multiple iterations of each aspect to co-exist and be enacted in its varied forms allows a continuous movement back and forth. Using the draft sketch in the Figure 25 I suggest the below model to imagine how the various structures are linked together in the moment of collaborative work (see Figure 27).

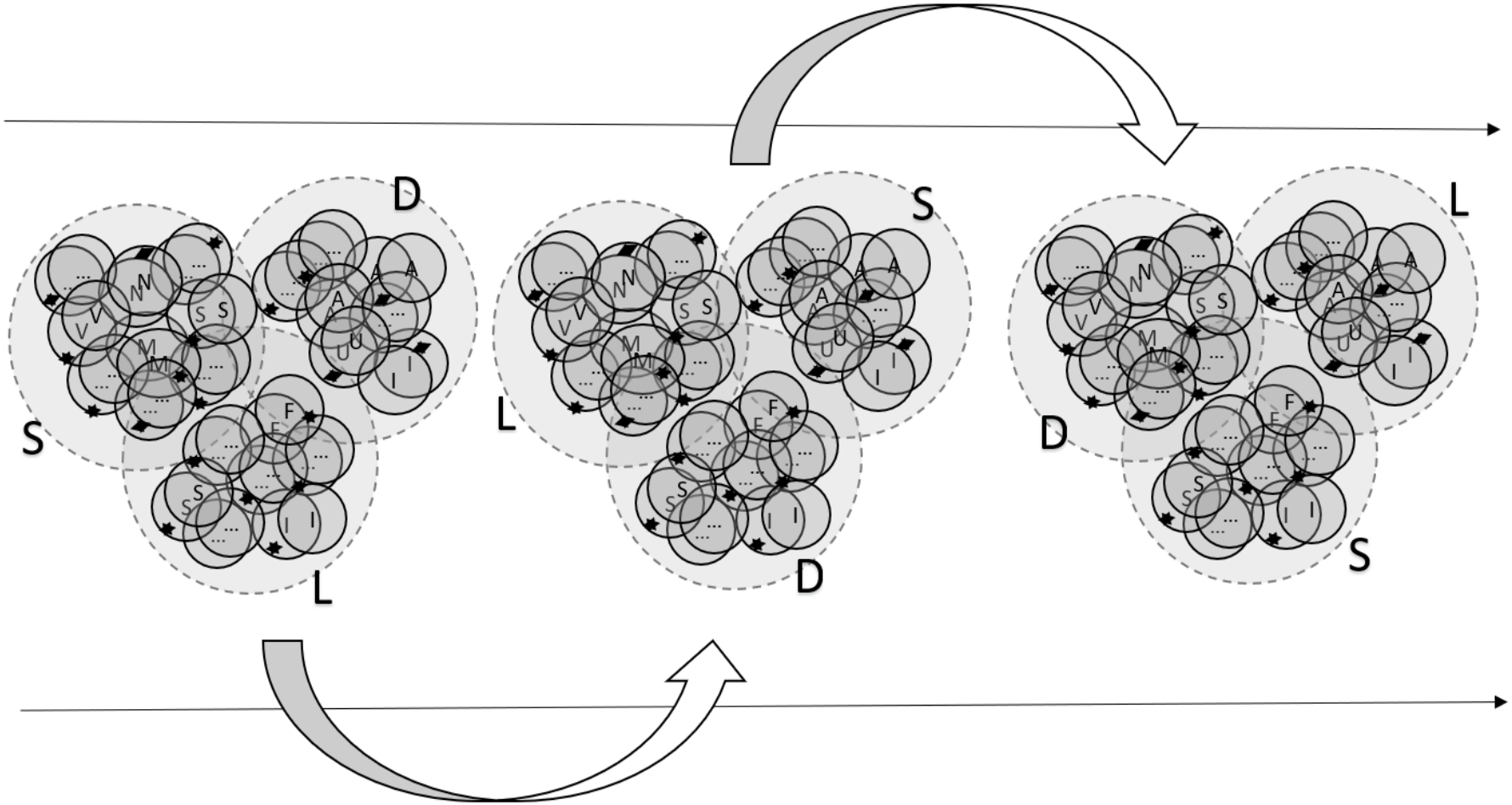


Figure 27: Conceptual space for in-the-moment agentic interventions within collaborative work

This model (Figure 27) represents a complex conceptual space within which agents exercise their agency. Through selecting, combining, recombining, discarding, ignoring, accepting, interpreting, and post hoc rationalising (and more) of this plethora of decisions the agents enact the day-to-day routines of collaborative work. As I have shown, one form of making this possible is through collaborators humanising the organising principles by translating the abstract organising tools and concepts for a particular context. My final answer, hence, suggests that collaborative work is performed in a day-to-day basis by undertaking *human* work of collaboration, by which I mean actors consciously humanise the organising practices, only tenuously relying on, and in turn modifying the 'dehumanised organising principles' that shape the collaborative work; this work is performed in conceptual space as outlined in Figure 27 and takes place 'in the moment' of collaborative organising.

The specific conceptualisation that I offer, *human* work of collaboration, has implications for the *becoming* of the entity of collaboration. If the organising practices are borrowed and modified iteratively, what organising within collaborative project means is never clear. This implies that suggesting collaborative projects exist clearly and are sufficiently well understood by actors is lacking. What the collaborative project is (what it means) is never clear; the meaning is never frozen; it is open and constantly flowing. It is through the actors, through their physical presence, through their actions, through their sensemaking processes (Weick, 1995) that the collaboration constantly becomes. Thus, the collaborative entity continuously takes form through the actions of agents when they are attempting a joint utilisation of the existing rules and resources. Further, within and through this act of instantiation the entity also functions as a resource for understanding what it means to perform collaborative work. **The collaborative entity, hence, is a quasi-stable system continuously 'in the making'.** Collaborative project, as an entity, appears for a moment, is understood in the moment by the actors, enacted through their dynamic understanding in the moment and is simultaneously modified through that moment; it acts both as the resource and the outcome. This continuous modification is as prevalent as the appearance of stability understood in relation to the movement (hence, the use of term quasi-stable). I have shown how the incessant actions of the agents form and shift the boundaries around the existing and in-making structures; such boundaries are woven together by agents by naming and claiming it as the collaborative entity; in the cases I have described as Share Fair or Rock4Refugees. The collaborative project is never clearly formed, it continuously *becomes*.

Abstracting this even further, through the view that I have adopted, such *human* collaborative work can be recognised as one of the many modes of organising through which life expresses a core contradictory form. I will not develop this argument in-depth here as it does not directly relate to my research question. However, I would hypothesise that, at its root, this is an existential contradiction of human existence translated into a contextual structural one, which then serves as a medium of its reification. The lack of formalised rules (or resistance to the existing ones) implies that the actors attempt to find these in other arenas: namely cultural, social, or personal life (if we contrast personal, social etc. against work). Overall, collaborative work helps the actors make sense of their lived life, and their lived life in turns shapes the collaborative work that the actors could perform. Possibility is tied up with a sense of accomplishment – be it with any course of the action chosen or the outcome. By applying structuration theory through a processual perspective, at a specific reification of these interactions, the enacting of these behaviours (i.e., performing of the ethicality, consensus building or meaning making) can be understood as a continual social accomplishment. Analytically, this lens allows us to penetrate closer to a descriptive understanding of the role of agency as employed at the 'in-the-moment' of collaborative work, which is what my interpretations have accomplished.

6 Discussion and conclusion

To answer my core research question (that is, 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?'), I have used ethnography as my methodological perspective and structuration theory as an analytical tool. This somewhat unusual combination allows the creation of multiple plausible and evidence-supported explanations of a single 'how?' at various levels of abstraction. In this chapter I will argue that altogether, these answers act as an interpretive propositional contribution towards the literature that has advanced pluralist integrative perspective when attempting to understand collaboration. The chapter is organised in two subsections. I will begin by re-encapsulating three separate but linked answers from my findings (chapter 4) and interpretation (chapters 5). This section simply summarises my interpretive argument and reiterates it for clarity. The second section then positions and discusses this interpretive argument against the research surrounding collaboration to outline my specific contribution.

6.1 How is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis? – pluralistic explanations

Thus far I have offered several partial answers towards my core research question. These answers are scattered within my ethnographic narrative as the origin stories of collaborative work, as vignettes of everyday work, as tales of collaborative work, or in my interpretation chapter as explanations of strategic conduct, both within an informal context and beyond. For analytical clarity, I organise these fragments below as 1) a descriptive answer, 2) a theoretical explanation within context and 3) a theoretical explanation beyond context. These answers, while at different levels of abstraction, still portray the same phenomenon and behaviours within to offer plural explanations towards my core research question 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?'

A descriptive answer through ethnographic narrative

A short first answer to my research question is that, in an informal context, collaborators perform the day-to-day work by trying to impose a sense of order, while continuously preparing themselves and others for the chaos and the unexpected. I repeat a small section from the summary of chapter four here: '[Within Rock4Refugees and Share Fair] the attempts to impose a sense of order are at the core of these projects' organising process. However, the routines and actions of the organisers also show an embracing of the chaotic, the potential, the unexpected and the situational. […] the interorganisational context was extremely convoluted. While a core organising team carried out the main functions for the events, this 'core team' itself was in flux and changing per event. People and organisations who participated also varied and participated with different representational hats at different events. The planning up to the day relied heavily on the information sharing over personal social media accounts and was performed in social settings (pubs, cafes etc); resource acquisition and allocation was achieved through personal contacts and had an organic, natural feel to it. Similar organising principles were employed during on-the-day performance of collaborative work. The notions of duties or roles was performed with a common understanding of what they entailed but were still tenuous at best and interchangeable. The emphasis was on creating a collegial environment where participants co-produced the collaborative project and assumed ownership of it. The core assumption of 'how to do this kind of collaborative work' were slowly developed through the doing of it, through trial and error, through imagination and through experience. The material aspects of the events – where it was taking place, the physical attributes of the location and the setup, the artefacts

used on the day – constituted a heavy part of what the events turned out to be. Equally *who* was there also massively shaped *what* of the collaborative projects. The embodied experiences of organisers, their emotions, their expectations, hopes, anxieties, their blood, sweat, and tears were as much of an important aspect in making the collaborative projects come together as any organising sense behind the process.' This summary combined with the sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, together form the descriptive answer to my research question.

A theoretical explanation within context

The second answer to my research question is equally context specific as the first one but is aided by concepts from structuration theory. Through applying the concepts of legitimisation, domination, and signification, in the sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 I have interpreted how the collaborative work was performed in Rock4Refugees and Share Fair. Based on that, a short second answer to the *how* is that the day-to-day collaborative work in an informal context is performed by enacting and sustaining contradictions within three aspects: considering ethicality, achieving consensus, and deciding meaning for key terms.

As evidenced earlier (see Table 12), in Share Fair and Rock4Refugees 'right thing to do' was not a set idea in collaborative work but to be arrived at through contradictory behaviours – sometimes acting as a tireless hero while other times acting as a biased guardian. The ethicality of day-to-day action was scarcely grounded in any absolute ideological sense. In-the-moment behaviour was inherently contradictory and simply rationalised ex post facto as ethical. It was considered perfectly acceptable to rely on your friends or relatives in one setting, whereas in another, work and social life had to be clearly separated. On some occasions, relationships were considered the more important outcome of collaborative work, in others using these for progressing collaborative project was considered the right choice. Same organisers who fought to protect organisational resources for one reason, used mild deception in other situations to spend them for unintended purposes (similar to collaborative thuggery identified by Huxham and Vangen [2005]). Even legality and licensing were interpreted and used situationally in contradictory manner. I have proposed conceptualising these contradictions as relational (see Figure 16). This suggests that the day-to-day collaborative work in an informal context is performed by understanding and enacting ethicality through interpersonal contradictions. As this is linked closely to the modality norms (right thing to do), I have connected this interpretation to the structure of legitimisation that enables *becoming* of the collaborative entity 'in the moment'.

Similarly, consensus building was performed by adhering to certain norms while simultaneously breaking them. I have shown through evidence (Table 13) that following norms were established regarding how decision making should happen: use anything that you find, almost no one is in charge, there is no shame in asking and this is a place to get along. Organisers on the ground adhered to the norms as far as possible and conveyed these as the 'appropriate way of behaviour' in informal collaborative organising. However, evidence also points to instances of breaking the norms as another way of making consensus. Both the following of the norm and breaking of the norm were treated as an opportunity to shape what is the expected behaviour. Situational factors were evaluated, understood, and accepted as well as ignored by the aware actors. Such intentional as well as unintentional behaviour both contributed to the shaping of the 'consensus building' process. I have termed the behaviour of following the norms as communal outlook and the behaviour of breaking them as prudent outlook. By conceptualising community and prudent outlook as relational I have proposed a model for how they are connected (see Figure 20). As setting of these behavioural patterns (or breaking them) was established to exercise power though modality of facility, I have linked it to the structure of domination that furthers *becoming* of collaborative entity.

Finally, I have evinced that meaning making was achieved by constant positioning and repositioning of terms against what they are not (Table 14). I have divided this behaviour under two descriptors: structured and unstructured approach. Employing this division, I show that the meanings of key terms (social/work, formal/informal, measuring/experiencing, inclusion/exclusion) were necessarily and purposefully kept fluid. This allowed the collaborators to remain flexible. By outlining what is not social participants clarified to themselves and others what constitutes work, by arbitrarily ascribing certain aspects as informal they comprehended and rationalised what is formal. In one situation measuring the impact was considered more important, in another experiencing the project was clearly more important than any impact assessment. Similar to the themes of ethicality and consensus building, I move away from questions of what something meant and rather focus on *how* its meaning was created over time. Often, the label attributed could even change over time for the same task by the same actor. I have emphasised the connectedness of these terms to one another and have shown how the contractions within them were sustained by continually positioning them as separate (see proposed model - Figure 23). As interpretive schemes are employed in communicating these meanings, I have interpreted them as enactments of structure of signification.

It is worthwhile reinforcing that neither of these enactments can be analysed in isolation. The notion of their reciprocity is an extremely important aspect of the structurational sensibility (Giddens, 1984). When an organiser speaks of an action as 'right thing to do', for example, they are necessarily drawing on the modalities of norms, facility, and interpretive schemes in unison. However, the analytical separation has allowed me to show how my data was riddled with contradictory enactments at an interpersonal level. Hence, as a theoretical explanation within the informal collaborative context, I claim that collaborative work was performed by maintaining, sustaining and (re)enacting contradictions within ethicality, consensus building and meaning making at an interpersonal level.

A theoretical explanation beyond context

The final answer that my thesis offers is by employing a concept of '*human* work of collaboration'. I abstract my prior answers, and through the use of this concept, suggest that collaborators perform collaborative work by consciously humanising the organising practices, only tenuously relying on, and in turn modifying the dehumanised organising principles. This work is performed in a complex cognitive-structural space and takes place in-the-moment of collaborative organising.

In section 5.4 I have connected the three contradictory enactments within ethicality, consensus building and meaning making and proposed an explanatory model for outlining the space within which agentic interventions are made possible in-the-moment (see Figure 27). I argue that a peculiar manner of 'how to' of the agentic intervention is performed in the instances of the collaborative work which I observed, which, through analytical generalisation, could be applicable to other collaborative contexts. I have shown through examples that organisers in the discussed projects drew on abstract and dehumanised management tools (see Image 36) but did not use them as is. The tools were near always translated situationally, and the use was kept open ended and flexible so as to allow others to take part in the organising process. Organisers recognised others involved in the collaborative work as different as well as similar and made conscious efforts to afford them agentic space. I do not claim that this was the best possible way of doing these organising tasks, however, within these situations this practice was considered the most acceptable. There were no significant efforts to correct or systematise differences but only a visible effort to accommodate them 'to just make it work'. This *human* work of collaboration was repeated over and over in projects I have described and formed a 'way of doing things' within informal, unstructured collaborations.

The theoretical orientation I have adopted to arrive at this explanation emphasises the dualistic, recursive, and constitutive character of such agentic intervention. This implies a purposeful distance from a view that these in-the-moment acts are in some ways building blocks of the collaborative entity as well as from the view that they are restrained by the structural constraint of the context. They must be considered both simultaneously enabling and constraining (Giddens, 1984, 2010). They are constituted within the rules and resources of an in-making system, the *whole* of which they reshape and re-enact. The *doing* of collaborative work is based on an emergent understanding and the act itself continuously shapes that understanding. This has deeper implications for the entity/system within which such behaviour is positioned, both for its emergent meaning and for its ontic nature. What Share Fair or Rock4Refugees were as a project was never entirely clear, their meaning was never frozen; it was open and constantly flowing. In the specific projects that I have described, the processes that ensured such fluidity was encouraged. Focusing on this *flux,* I propose seeing collaborative entity as continuously taking form through the actions of agents when they are attempting a joint utilisation of the existing rules and resources. Within and through this act of instantiation the entity functions as a resource for understanding what it means to perform 'collaborative work'. The collaborative entity, hence, in itself is a quasi-stable system continuously *becoming* and the *human* work of collaboration is a performance that sustains its fluid nature.

My three answers above, in their distinctive explanatory orientation, offer useful *post hoc* insights about collaborative work, and yet, they are simply a beginning. For example, some insights from my descriptive answer do not fit neatly within the theoretical explanations that I have offered. As it is always the case, numerous other theoretical explanations could be equally plausible. I suggest that all of this is unsurprising as the written word always falls short of capturing all the complexity of a phenomenon and the *flux* of reality. Nevertheless, my explanatory orientation allows for a rich picture by observing not only the neatness but also the inherent mess of collaborative work. It does so by offering an explanation of a *sense* of order while not rejecting the existence of chaos. Furthermore, my specific research orientation overcomes some of the conflation at an onto-epistemic level by advocating research focus neither on the *whole* nor on the *parts* but on the process of their structuration. To further establish these useful aspects of my interpretive answers, I shall discuss how the three answers above, considered together, augment research surrounding collaboration.

6.2 Positioning pluralistic explanations as a multifaceted contribution

The answers discussed in section 6.1 are part of a multifaceted contribution that I intend to position within the research that studies collaboration. Their separation is only useful as an analytical exercise; These three answers should not be considered entirely separate or unconnected narratives. I suggest that when positioning them against the literature it is most useful to discuss them as a *whole for following reasons.*

Firstly, this is because in their discussion, I am most interested not in the smaller elements within my answers but the abstract qualities that they are able to bring forth in their totality. For instance, the first two answers I offer retain a descriptive character in a way that I had identified earlier: an exercise akin to play with reflection of sunlight and pieces of mirror at different angles, where when one puts a few pieces together a new perspective comes into being, but the originals are as valid and 'true' as the combined effort is. Such combined efforts, however, have different epistemic status and their discussion (through a teleological orientation) is only a small part of my research pursuit. Rather, I am most interested in the positioning of the most abstracted form of my core answer – *human* work of collaboration.

This novel concept that I have employed '*human* work of collaboration' is the thread of logic woven within all of the three answers. Its reification is visible in the informal context through my descriptive answer or through the contextual explanation of the enacted contradictions of ethicality, consensus building or meaning making. However, these smaller *parts* are incomplete without their connection with the *whole.* Hence, in this section I will discuss how the specific positioning of this core concept '*human* work of collaboration' contributes to our understanding of the collaborative work by further strengthening an underdeveloped perspective in the literature and by offering situational insights through its use.

Positioning collaborative work in relation to agents – importance of personal

It is useful to begin by looking at how research surrounding collaboration positions agents in relation to the collaborative work that they perform. For example, Jones and Lichtenstein, while exploring interorganisational projects, suggest that, "relations and understanding evolve over time to create macro-cultures that function as resources and rules for participants" (2008, p. 249). They propose that the temporal and social embeddedness reduces uncertainty and creates mechanisms for understanding the pace, process, and potential range of interactions in an interorganisational project. On the other hand, as I have shown, if the organising practices are borrowed and modified iteratively, what organising within collaborative project means is never clear. This implies that suggesting collaborative projects exist clearly and are sufficiently well understood by actors is lacking. Unlike the findings of Jones and Lichtenstein (2008), where the underlying assumption of the primacy of continuity has led to an ontological priority to the interorganisational project, my conceptualisation leaves room for further accommodating the change within collaborative work. The collaborative entity is never fully understood. The temporal and social embeddedness of the agents as well as the mechanisms that they apply for understanding and positioning are pervasive and indivisible. Hence, the entity can be understood as a secondary accomplishment of the process.

As often emphasized in my description of Share Fair and Rock4Refugees, the organisers chose not to solve immediate issues at all times, which contrasts against typical management wisdom. Letting these issues linger longer than required presented opportunities for other participants to actively adopt the role of an organiser. Serendipity also played a huge role in shaping what was to be done in any situation, however, as the organising was rather abstract and could be done at any level without a deep prior knowledge of the collaborative project, it made it easier for people to take a more involved part. This enabled people to bring their abilities, ideas, past experiences, and lived lives into the life of the project and gave them power to make decisions about the collaborative work. As Weick and Browning (1986) note, "people who absorb uncertainty label environmental inputs with relevant organisational categories and then put these categories into incomplete syllogisms, which other people can finish but only in a number of ways. We thus find an unexpected means by which people who absorb uncertainty may acquire and exercise power" (p.249).

As my description has shown, the categories that Weick and Browning (1986) have termed 'organisational categories' were shaped intentionally by the actors within the informal context, and they did so while offering other collaborators agentic space. This means that, at a personal level, the participants had to manage very significant uncertainty for themselves and others due to the lack of specified rules. Indeed, the extent to which collaborators needed the cognitive awareness of uncertainty was very high. The mental energy that they put into the initiatives to make them happen was often pointed as a key resource and a requirement of collaborative work. It was also not uncommon to hear the collaborators being 'burnt out' by the collaborative work they undertook; Sonenshein (2016) has recognised that such form of agentic work is cognitively taxing, and my findings corroborate this. Using everyday norms of politeness, intuition and common-sense, participants

reshaped *work* within collaborative projects as they saw fit – inadvertently reshaping the specific content of organisational categories in collaborative work. In this way, collaborative work was woven closely with the other aspects of their lived life and the actors related to their collaborative work on a personal/human level. Continuing to build on this relation between the agent and collaborative work they perform, my research has highlighted the importance of personal/human aspects of the work. A number of authors (Das and Teng, 2000; Beech and Huxham, 2003; Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; de Rond, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Jones and Lichtenstein, 2009; Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015) have argued that the complexity within collaborative work relates to the multi-layered and complicated context within which such work happens. The work is organisational, interorganisational, interpersonal and intersectoral, *inter alia*, which leads to its complexity. What I contribute towards this assertion is that, beyond these, the complexity also exists at a personal level for each of these decisions. When looking at how collaborators exercise their agency, I suggest that the complexity behind seemingly simple decisions is immense (see Figure 27).

The day-to-day work, when observed closely, shows us that the organisers' necessity to control their own anxiety, their euphoria, their joy, their celebrations, aspects of their personal life, their ambitions and many more things like that, shape a substantial part of the collaborative work. The personal and the cognitive affects collaborative work as much as the larger-scale aspects do. The descriptive part of my answer adds to a somewhat significant empirical literature on collaborative projects in form of two cases. Case studies discussing collaborative work within third sector (Shaw, 2003; Stone, Crosby and Bryson, 2010; Drake, Simmons and Smith, 2013; Milbourne and Cushman, 2013; Schiller and Almog-bar, 2013; Cornforth, Hayes and Vangen, 2015 among others) have typically focused on the origins and developmental narrative of the project, and besides other individual claims, emphasise the context-dependant characterisation of the happenings within collaborative projects. I propose that my account supports such characterisation, further elaborating on person-dependant characterisation in addition to context and adds two specific cases (Share Fair and Rock4Refugees) within an informal context to enrich this literature further.

Personal within the collaborative in multiple other contexts

The use of the concept, '*human* work of collaboration', is plausible beyond the immediate informal context. Based on the findings of this study, my conceptualisation of *human* work of collaboration strongly reflects how personal/human aspect of collaborative work necessarily shape the collaborative entity. For instance, like Shaw (2003), the findings highlight the importance of personal experience in making collaborative work possible. Shaw (2003) denotes that it was kindred spirits who genuinely liked each other, knew each other and worked through "no memorandum of understanding or contract, but with a handshake and trust" (p. 118) that made collaborations possible. These words ring true for the informal collaborative context analysed in this thesis as much as they do within the non-profit and public sector collaborations that Shaw's work looks at. Moreover, this insight also fits other contexts or more formal collaborative arrangements. Watson and Drew (2017) have argued that 'less than rational' aspects strengthened a structured and formal partnership between university and local authorities. In their case, they observed the collaboration "emerged despite, or maybe precisely in and through, the ambiguities, contradictions and the frequent laughter that pervaded the discussions" (Watson and Drew, 2017, p.16). For example, in one of the partnership meeting, discussing the inedible muffins that were supplied, which often returned to university canteen uneaten, were a better prompt for cordial discussion, laughter, and participation than 'formal' matters like the discussion of common goals were. Their interpretation is directly and strongly relevant to my descriptive answer as well as to the theoretical explanation. Indeed, I have shown how formal and

informal are constituted by contrasting them against one another, while necessarily understanding them as connected.

Moreover, I have shown how seemingly insignificant aspects of work – picking names for an activity, choosing colours of décor, arranging the flow of the seating area furniture etc. – were rather important aspects of collaborative work. The importance of this *human* interaction has been noted in prior research, and my findings strengthen its relevance. For example, Stone, Crosby and Bryson (2010) suggest governance structures and processes both shape and are shaped by human interactions among members. Lee *et al.* (2012) attempt to identify antecedents of the trust and suggest that multiplexity of the interpersonal relationships and past experiences impact the process significantly. Hence, the seemingly insignificant aspects of interactions are precisely the triggers that retain or change an existing pattern of behaviour. My conceptualisation identifies these seemingly insignificant happenings of the day-to-day as an essential aspects of collaborative work. The term '*human* work of collaboration' provides a broad category within which such triggers can be integrated. For this reason, towards the modes of theorising that may undervalue significance of human experience of collaborative work (such as, for example, market power theory, transaction cost theory, game theory, evolutionary theories, resource-based view), I suggest that my answers above can act as a prompt to rethink how the day-to-day and in-the-moment necessarily and recursively shapes the *whole* of collaborations.

However, as I have noted in the introduction, my contribution is primarily geared towards the modes of theorising that already put the *practice* of collaboration at their centre, further identifying inherent contradictions and the complexity of the context (such as dialectic theories, relational contract theory, teleological theory, theory of collaborative advantage). I shall continue by exploring and positioning my findings against these modes of theorising, before considering them against the pluralist integrative approaches. As my literature review has clarified, practice orientation to understanding collaborations is considerably well developed already and modern organisation theory has used contradictions as an explanatory device at multiple levels (for example: Das and Teng, 2000; Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010; Antoniadou, 2011; Gottlieb and Haugbølle, 2013; Vangen, 2017). I suggest that my orientation, while similar in some ways to a practice orientation, has some distinctive nuances. It is through this somewhat unusual positioning that I am able to offer a sociological underpinning for some of the units that practice theory unravels, whilst explicitly clarifying my onto-epistemic commitments.

Positioning against practice orientation to collaboration - clarifying onto-epistemic commitments

Beech and Huxham (2003) identify epistemological conflation carried out within research on collaboration. These authors argue that approaches which have prioritised practice over theory (such as, for example, one-best-way, benchmarking, contingency, etc.) fall prey to the same issue as the approaches that prioritise theory over practice (unitarist, dualist and even pluralist that seek reconciliation): an implied closure of meaning. Beech and Huxham (2003) suggest that reflective practice approach (practice-oriented theory) is distinct in that sense it is "consistent with supporting the cycle of practice and reflection and trial and error that we view to be the essence of reflective practice" (Beech and Huxham, 2003, p.87). They suggest that this approach accommodates pluralism in ways that do not reduce it to a representational epistemology. While their analysis is cautious and systematic, "offered in a 'stop the world I want to get off' spirit, providing something for managers to 'hold onto while they jump' into the inevitably complex reality of the real world as they experience it" (Beech and Huxham, 2003, p.88), I propose that the conflation that they identify is not epistemological but rather ontological. The approaches that they critique are indeed sensitive to the varied means of understanding collaboration but frequently underappreciate the complexity of the real world that

these methods open up and consequently create for comprehension (Tsoukas, 1998; Law, 2004). In trying to research a complex phenomenon (here, collaboration) these methods necessarily create *in-flux* aspects of the world that they are studying simultaneously but, as a requirement of the 'standard research process', bracket them out of their research consideration and present a still photograph of what is essentially a moving frame.

The Theory of Collaborative Advantage (TCA) (Huxham and Vangen, 2005), for example, maintains a useful descriptive character so as not to deny the complexity and idiosyncrasy of the collaborative situations. Yet, it retains a proximity to managerial implications as the conceptualisations are the descriptions of issues "that must be managed" (Huxham and Vangen, 2005 p. 212). On the other hand, if we are to pause and reflect on the importance of *a priori* assumptions regarding imposing order, we could ask 'must they be managed?', and perhaps arrive at a different insight. Some of my participants would likely say that it doesn't matter whether these issues are managed, some others would likely argue that managing them actually implies that they are 'sorted as they come' rather than planned for purposefully, and others would plan heavily in advance. The managing of these issues has been the focus of general research (not surprising as it is under the umbrella term - management science) but the other courses of actions that are open to agents are usually trimmed out of the final presentation of research work. As my analysis have repeatedly shown, purposefully not managing can be equally helpful. Letting these issues fester and linger longer than usual management wisdom indicates is in itself a form of 'managing' that the participants conscientiously employed in an informal context – and even without the traditional managing the initiatives achieved varying levels of success. I stress that I do not prescribe this as an implication to abandon any quest for identifying managing practices. However, I see this as an opportunity to rethink some of these well-formed assumptions.

Focusing on ontological rather than practice implications

The practice orientation is of significant value from the perspective of practitioners. Scholars who employ practice orientation acknowledge the analytical isolation of issues that is required to propose the theoretical insights. To continue with above example, Huxham and Vangen (2005) note that

> *"we see practice as embedded in holistic experience that cannot be dismantled. However, theory can be helpfully used to unpack practice. Thus, although areas of practice cannot be enacted in isolation, it can be helpful to think about them as though this were possible. Each theme in the theory of collaborative advantage, and the issues and tensions identified within it, is just part of a holistic picture that cannot be thought about in isolation. And yet, it can be helpful for managers to isolate it temporarily so that reflection about how to act can become manageable" (Huxham and Vangen, 2005 p. 212).*

In doing so, the theory gains extremely valuable insights in the form of handles for reflexive practice. At the same time, it shifts the focus away (even if only to some extent) from the processual nature of the collaborative entity that is becoming. However, this is perhaps a misplaced criticism as the purpose of TCA is not the identification of the ontic form of the collaborative entity but rather assisting the practice of collaborative work, which it does exceedingly well. In taking the reflective processes as the unit of focus, the temporal aspect of the phenomenon is sliced through: "at any one-time particular issues or tensions will be at the forefront of the reflective process but others remain in the background. The foreground and background become rearranged depending on the practical needs of the instant. At that instance, managers usually need to be able to act quickly" (Huxham and Vangen, 2005 p. 212). This relates to what I have referred to as 'in-the-moment of organising' in my analysis. In this way, my findings and methodological approach resemble the TCA in multiple facets. Similarly,

I arrived at the interpersonal tensions and contradictions in collaborative work inductively; the analytical process was grounded in the naturally occurring data and theorising was subsequent result of analysis rather than being based on hypothesis or propositions extracted. The points of departure are the underlying assumptions of what the collaborative entity is made up of and where the contradictions that sustain the complexity lie. Not unlike the TCA, my research also generates thick descriptions, but in their interpretation my concern is the ontic nature of the phenomenon and exploration of the role actors play in the various processes that constitute it. In this way, my research contributes a sociological/theoretical explanation that can correlate various underlying aspects of practice-oriented theory under a consistent ontic base, one which can also accommodate various other perspectives.

The practice-oriented theory approach is also remarkable in being able to tenuously hold onto the complexity of the world that it is observing while offering situated contextual insights that are useful to the actors taking part in the world. In terms of generating guidelines for the collaborators, that is indeed helpful. However, it does not consider a central priority of enquiry, the ontological question of what that world is (towards the creation of which the method itself contributes). This is where my thesis departs from the view that is adopted in practice-oriented theory.

I concur with Giddens (1993;2010) that the logical tendency dictates that in such cases ontological assumption are already in play, and that it is (one of the many) task(s) of social scientist to uncover them; this is what my research has begun to sketch. In that specific sense, I would argue that my approach complements the previous works that have used practice-theory approaches in varied forms (Das and Teng, 2000; Beech and Huxham, 2003; Clarke-hill, Li and Davies, 2003; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010; Vangen, 2017). Through the application of structuration theory in collaborative context, my research offers a sociological and internally logically consistent explanation of meta theoretical parts underlying the subsequent units that make up the world that such theories discover, create and are able to say something about. The explanations I produce via this application adds valuable input to those who have already taken steps towards building this perspective, particularly as it does so through a focus on strategic conduct. By performing an analysis of strategic conduct, my research complements the work by scholars who have already started pulling these various aspects together using either a dialectic or structurationist perspective (Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002; de Rond, 2003; Sydow and Windeler, 2003; Smith, Binns and Tushman, 2010; Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi, 2019). The discussion from this point forth will focus on positioning my answer against these pluralist integrative approaches. However, before moving on to this consideration, it is useful to clarify a seeming conflation of levels at which such an answer operates.

Overcoming conflation of levels – collaborative work as practical accomplishment

One of the minor inconsistencies I have identified in the review of research studying collaboration relates to identifying the level at which the proposed conceptual elements are at play, i.e., research does not always explicitly clarify where the social systems merge into a social institution, and the part played by the agential work in shaping them as such. My research orientation allows us to clarify this issue for a more systematic comprehension. For example, Das and Teng (2000) identify cooperation-competition, rigidity-flexibility, and short-term vs long-term orientation as competing forces within strategic alliance, however, these concepts cannot be said to be operating at the same level. They define rigidity, for instance, as a structural concept in two ways: (1) rigidity in linking elements within the organization, and (2) rigidity in linking with other organizations in relevant social networks. If we use Fairfield and Wing's (2008) approach of dividing research on collaborative work at interorganisational, organisation-person and interpersonal levels, we can see that rigidity-flexibility operates within all of them. Such tensions are present in all levels but the discussion that Das and Teng

(2000) offer tends to merge these levels together analytically. In a similar manner, Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) suggest that paradoxes reported by leaders when discussing challenges involved in collaborative work can be characterised as paradoxes occurring at an interorganisational level; their research focus, however, remains at a cognitive, individual or group level and is translated to explain paradoxes at an interorganisational level. To overcome a potential conflation of levels, I have proposed an altogether distinct conceptual move. If we treat neither the interpersonal interactions nor the structural aspects as the building block of the collaborative work, rather focusing on their structuration (*becoming*), the issue of levels can be suspended. The levels can be pulled apart and put together for analytical discussion as and when needed (and both exercises are most useful when complemented by one another). The paradoxes positioned at an interorganisational level can then be seen simply as an extension of paradoxes that individuals are enacting when (re)producing the structures of legitimisation, domination, and signification which exist at all of these levels, and are enacted by a reflexive agent.

The work performed by a reflexive agent in such a manner, which lends to a purposeful enactment of day-to-day aspects, has been termed by Giddens (1984, 1993, 2010) as 'practical accomplishments'. This author suggest that most competent members of society are vastly skilled at day-to-day practice and are reflective about it because "knowledge they possess is not incidental to the persistent patterning of social life but is integral to it" (Giddens, 1984, p. 26). Similar terminology has been applied in other research work where agentic acts have been recognised as effortful enactments (Danner-Schröder and Geiger, 2016), skilful accomplishments (Spee, Jarzabkowski and Smets, 2016), complex social accomplishment (Sonenshein, 2016). However, the influence of structuration theory is not explicitly made clear in these works.

My proposed notion of *human* work of collaboration, on the other hand, is indeed a practical accomplishment. It is extremely specific to the two cases that I analyse through the explicit application of structuration theory in an informal collaborative context. Still, because of its grounding as a sociological theory of human action, it can also extend to any collaborative setting in its abstracted form. Therefore, using analytical generalisation, I propose that even within the most rigid and formal context, there would always be a degree of autonomy. This is because the formal rules must be interpreted and enacted by a reflexive agent. As Sydow and Windeler note, "structuration theory does not conceptualize organizations, still less interfirm networks, as homogenous and unitary entities but as dispersed and fractured social practices. Relationships between individuals as well as between collective actors are always characterized by some degree of autonomy" (2003, p.273). My research has focused on and highlighted this autonomy and, furthermore, abstracted it for an application within the other settings of collaborative work. This is not a move leaning towards voluntarism, as in my descriptive answer, I have equally reinforced the contextual and structural constraint. However, a research focus on autonomy and knowledgeability of actors is extremely useful towards our current understanding of collaborative work, in which there is a felt imbalance towards importance of order, continuity, and stability.

Nurturing strategic ambiguity through knowledgeability

My proposed theorisation adheres to characteristics suggested by Van De Ven and Poole (2005), who recognise that for process theories, generalisation depends not on uniformity across contexts but versatility; the theory shrinks or stretches to fit the particular case. As Poole et al. (2000) argue, this is achieved by focusing on "the degree to which it can encompass a broad domain of developmental patterns without modification of its essential character" (p.43). Human work of collaboration, as I have conceptualised it, focuses on creating and maintaining long term strategic ambiguity and as such can be applied beyond the immediate context. It is the fostered strategic ambiguity that allows for creative

solutions as well as the flexibility to generate and employ those creative solutions or to reinforce the existing practice. Both the order and disorder are necessary to retain the routine as well as flexibility and the creativity. As more specifically detailed in sections 4.1 and 4.2, the organisers attempted to plan and create contingencies so that the collaborative work will go smoothly. But their routine and action show that they do so while embracing the resulting disorder. I suggest that the agent's knowledgeability of this has been occluded in some investigations of organising. For example, Vásquez, Schoeneborn and Sergi (2016) suggest that "Strategic plans, schedules, minutes, work agendas, and so forth, are all common and mundane tools used for ordering. Yet, when those tools are employed, they often create – at the same time – confusion, disruption, misunderstanding, in other words, disorder. To some extent, in 'real life', as in Goethe's The Sorcerer's Apprentice, people who engage in organizing are constantly 'haunted' by the disordering effects of their ordering efforts" (2016, p.69). I think that use of language in this quote is purposefully misleading. It gives the impression that tools create disorder and people are haunted by it – misplacing the causal link makes it seem like the humans are suffering from a disorder that was somewhat created outside of human action. My findings show the possibility of treating agnets as knowledgeable actors that are aware of both order and disorder – and tackle and induce both (either intentionally or unintentionally). Eisenberg (1984) suggests that vagueness can act as a source of power; leaders can make meaning by using language strategically at a level of abstraction where agreement can occur. This was clearly visible in the projects that I observed, however not only through the means of language but also through the means of the actions; strategic ambiguity promoted unified diversity. As I argue, purposeful strategic ambiguity is evident through a resistance to solidify aims, or to formalise organisational structure or form, or to select a hierarchical structure or a leader to guide the effort. However, as these tasks (i.e., agreeing clear aims, specific organisational structure, hierarchy, leadership) are useful for day-to-day functioning of the organising, the collaborators achieve these contrasting ends (resisting them and accomplishing them) by embodying and performing them through a deep contradictory practice. Such practice then, as I have extensively evinced through examples, trades on both sides of ethical, consensus building and meaning making dimensions. The collaborative work consists of embodying and re-enacting contradictions through being both a tireless hero and a biased guardian, maintaining both a communal outlook and a prudent outlook and preserving contradictory meanings. Through contradictory practice of *human* work of collaboration, strategic ambiguity within the day-to-day conduct is achieved.

My conceptualisation complements the integrative perspectives towards research surrounding collaboration which have prioritised such strategic ambiguity at an institutional level. For instance, While looking at the recursive interplay between network effectiveness and duality of structure, Sydow and Windeler (1998) have suggested that the elusive criteria for overall effectiveness are still acceptable as a research object, as long as it is recognised that they are constructed, contextual, limited and examined against a conceptualisation of 'effectiveness' as an ongoing historic process. This view leaves room for ambiguity at an institutional level. What is effective, not only within the interpretations of individual practice, but rather as a historically constructed aspect is prone to change (or solidification) via individual practice over time. This also correlates to the propositional works which treat collaborations as a site of institutionalisation (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2000). The *in-flux* character of institutional aspects or the strategic ambiguity they embody is still preserved by conceptualising institutes as proto-institutes or institutes-in-making, where embeddedness and involvement play a key role in making *in situ* but long lasting change possible (Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002). Previous research identifies that, to complement works that look at such historical development and strategic ambiguity at an institutional level, ethnographic research would be required to explore *action in play* (Sydow and Windeler, 1998; de Rond, 2002). My research, in

adopting an ethnographic perspective and performing an analysis of strategic conduct, has answered the calls for examination of this day-today conduct within collaborative work and contributes through the description and explanation of this day-to-day conduct.

Human work of collaboration - a contribution via advancing analysis of strategic conduct

In performing an analysis of strategic conduct of the collaborative work, my research advances an underdeveloped perspective. In the literature review, I have only been able to identify a few works that approach the structuration process through exploration of strategic conduct (de Rond, 2003; Sydow and Windeler, 2003; Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi, 2019). Consequently, I have claimed that the examination of contradictions at a personal/human level also needs further development. While some authors have used structurationist ideas explicitly to do so, Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi (2019) apply a broader dialectic perspective. They urge scholars to advance dialectic understanding by allowing for rich contextual analysis of interorganisational relationships at an interpersonal level. Through their own longitudinal analysis, they illustrate that dialect tensions at the core of relationships continuously change, "any established arrangement is coupled with (changing) interest of the actors, and therefore, sow the seeds of their own decay – which gives rise to another period of change" (Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi, 2019, p.9). My findings also reflect this and suggest that enacted contradictions within ethicality, consensus building and meaning making overlap and intersect to transform into one another (see Figure 26). Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi (2019) also contrast the initial reciprocity between the structural properties of relationship and its (re)construction process (which they outline by reinforcing of process by structural property and, in turn, reifying of structural properties by process) against what they term to be a disruptive path. In this disruptive path, as opposed to an integrative path, friction and misalignment can act as a trigger that leads to the undermining of the processes by the structural properties of relationship; and, in turn, loosening of the structural properties by the processes. I suggest that this is a valid, albeit unnecessary distinction. Triggers of change can imply change in either perceived direction - be it constructive or destructive (as rationalised post hoc). Even via friction or misalignment, as I have shown with examples within my data (see Image 35), it is possible to achieve what Alimadadi, Bengtson and Salmi (2019) term to be an integrative path. In informal collaborative work, how to apply specific tools was almost never agreed on and they were often misaligned for tasks. Yet, the actors made room for this misalignment and purposefully accepted or rejected change through them. The application of structuration theory as an 'ontology of potentials' (Cohen, 1989) is appropriate in merging this sort of distinction together, which allows the same theory to be viewed as a theory of explicating stability as well as a theory of change. I suggest that differentiating one path as integrative and another as disruptive occludes opportunity to see how actors could use both as potential triggers for the same action. On the other hand, '*human* work of collaboration' identifies triggers of change within a particularly flexible context, that is, informal collaborative work, which can also act as triggers of consistency. Spee, Jarzabkowski and Smets (2016) have also identified triggers of change/consistency within organisational routines and have termed them as skilful accomplishments. The distinctive feature of my research remains an explicit recognition of underlying influence of a structurationist orientation and the specific positioning of my approach, which focuses on the clarification of my methodological commitments that retain *flux*.

In adhering to these two core principles, I contribute to de Rond's (2003) ethnographic study of strategic alliances. In fact, my research strongly reflects many of the findings identified in his work and advances the perspective that he has begun to develop. de Rond also characterises the strategic ambiguity, actor knowledgeability, autonomy, and the importance of interpersonal interaction in shaping the particular alliances which my study has highlighted in informal collaborations. I establish

a clear link to his suggestion that "collaborative process appears to have been quite strongly contingent on the nature of the interpersonal ties between specific individuals" (de Rond, 2003, p.79). He argues that the personalities and relationships of the people who were involved, necessarily and strongly shaped the organisational life of the ventures; the unwritten rules and gentlemen's agreement were as core to the functioning of collaborations as any contractual frameworks. In retaining both these aspects of formality and informality, contradictory behaviour is made evident. My findings have also denoted and focused on the contradictions that allow such processes to unfold. However, while de Rond looks at strategic alliances in biotechnology research, a context that is characterised by a formal and structured overtone, my work has focuses on a more informal context. My theoretical explanation has shown that actors perform things that are entirely opposite to one another and yet deem them ethical, coherent, consensual, and meaningful. This descriptive explanation of human agency is in line with de Rond's observation in a prior work, where he outlines complexity and inconsistency at an individual level "human agency appears heir to the potentially inconsistent value systems, contriving to adhere to a belief in the morality of motive and that of a consequence" (2002 p.40). He suggests that while advancing both the individual and organisational agendas, actors may champion contradictory causes. Similarly, as my interpretations have evidenced, collaborative actors are indeed both a tireless hero as well as a biased guardian, perform with a prudent as well as communal outlook and sustain fluid contrasting meanings to make sense of the initiative.

However, beyond the identification of specific contextual insights that resonate beyond the context, the most important point of parity is where de Rond (2008) suggests a move away from the *particular* in his analysis to the *general (*and then back to both together)*.* de Rond (2003) significantly extends the use of structuration theory in dialectic tradition by advocating a much deeper and clearly developed pluralist integrative engagement, which my research has advanced further for the informal collaborative context. Drawing on Berlin's objective value pluralism and Giddens's structuration theory he develops a perspective to emphasize the *particular* of alliances whilst also tackling the *general.* A strong philosophical basis is created in his work which suggests that pluralist theories can simultaneously allow social conduct to be active/self-directed and inert/constrained, which means causation can be explained by various means. My conceptualisation, *human* work of collaboration, strives to accomplish these seemingly contrasting ends when applied in the cautious manner that I have advocated. Similar to de Rond (2003), who encourages interpretive engagement with research (implying that we need to identify a contextual *particular* through research that can then extend our understanding of the *general),* my interpretations have suggested that viewed through such a lens, the collaborative projects *become* an object of signifying, dominating, and legitimising; the *praxis* of collaboration takes the central stage, which pushes the researcher to familiarise him/herself with day-to-day actions of collaborative work.

Furthermore, following de Rond's (2003) insight, I do not simply acknowledge complexity but offer an explanatory framework. In providing such a framework for descriptive explication of human agency in a collaborative context, my work contributes to the perspective that de Rond (2003) has started developing. He calls on scholars to continue building perspectives that can "explain the particular ***as well as*** the general; theories that allow one to find the particular ***in*** the general, the general ***in*** the particular, and the general as only ever experienced ***through*** the particular. Such theories must allow for social conduct, including learning processes, to be active and self-directed but simultaneously inert and constrained, permitting voluntarism, determinism and serendipity alike" (de Rond, 2003 emphasis in original). Through the peculiar positioning discussed thus far, my conceptualisation of *human* work of collaboration, is a clear and a direct step in that direction. Viewing *human* work of collaboration as an answer to the question 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?' implies that

collaborative organising is thought-out but serendipitous, purposeful yet unintentional, built on the past experiences and still embedded in the imagination, and ordered and disordered at the same time. I suggest that my answer, in furthering the *in-flux* explanations that de Rond (2003) advocates, makes a significant contribution that opens up another path towards pluralist theorisation on how to understand collaborative work.

Human work of collaboration – another step on the path towards a pluralist perspective

There is another significant benefit that a processual structurationist research orientation creates. Due to its emphasis on both the *particular* and *general*, due its inclination to accommodate separation and assemblage of analytical levels and due to its flexible character, that accommodates contrasting ends, such a research orientation is able to form a basis to accommodate seemingly incompatible theoretical perspectives. Indeed, as Sydow and Windeler (1998) observe, "the crucial point of combination of an institutional and strategic analysis is that the data produced by these different methodologies have to be interpreted as aspects of fundamentally the same recursive structuration processes" (p. 280). This combination allows various existing theoretical perspectives to be linked harmoniously. In connecting a descriptive answer at an individual level to an institutional phenomenon at a much broader level and clarifying onto-epistemic commitments that focus on both and neither simultaneously, my research's perspective offers room to accommodate multiple theoretical views that have been employed thus far to understand collaborative work. The processual structurationist orientation has the potential to accommodate wide theoretical perspectives while offering a logical and internally consistent onto-epistemic stance which does not silence contradictions. This specific stance, due to its *in-flux* nature, does not offer a specific research programme to undertake for researchers, but rather allows multiple iterations of various kinds of research to co-exist under a consistent explanatory framework.

I should make it perfectly clear that this suggestion to adopt a processual structurationist view is not a connotation to go towards a 'grand theory of collaboration', far from it. What I am advocating, rather, building on de Rond's work (2003), is for further development of a pluralist integrative research approach that is sensitive to change, open to variety and to accommodating of multiple perspectives harmoniously. I deem the various individual perspectives discussed in my literature review (life cycle theories, teleological theories, evolutionary theories etc.) as valuable and able to offer contextual and specific insights. What I propose is that a synergistic view towards such insights enriches their understanding even further, leading us closer to grasping the ever-elusive complexity that these explanations are trying to represent. They are most helpful when understood as a possibility linked to other such possibilities. Similarly, my conceptualisation does not suggest that certain behavioural characteristics or outcomes (even *human* work of collaboration) are expected or even probable. The characteristics I observed as a regularity in conduct (a point which would also extend to other researchers' work) are to be simply offered as one possibility amongst many. My research stance purposefully distances itself from "conceiving these regularities as elements of a trans-historical order of uniformities" (Cohen, 1989, p.25) because agents always have the capability to 'have acted in a different manner' (Giddens, 1984, 1993, 2010). Therefore, I intentionally leave my conceptualisation open and flexible so that it can accommodate the character of the purposeful strategic ambiguity that it itself is trying to explore.

In conclusion, as a concept, 'human work of collaboration' can advance our understanding of the collaborative work, as it answers the question 'how is collaborative work performed in a day-to-day basis?' in multiple ways. Within Share Fair and Rock4Refugees, it reifies as an ongoing effort by the organisers to both sustain order and disorder, of which I have provided a detailed description. Within informal collaborative context, it translates through the enacted contradictions within ethicality,

consensus building and meaning making. And in its most abstract form, it implies that collaborators consciously humanise the organising practices, only tenuously relying on, and in turn modifying, the dehumanised organising principles of collaborative work, performed in-the-moment within a complex cognitive-structural space. In these multiple ways, my answer(s) contribute(s) to different aspects of research surrounding collaborations as a descriptive account, as a contextual application, and as a grounding for behaviour within wider contexts. Due to its specific positioning, the concept 'human work of collaboration' opens possibility to offer underlying explanation for various meta-theoretical parts of theories that have put complexity at their core through a practice orientation. Finally, due to the *in-flux* character of such theorization, it also offers a possibility to integrate and reconcile multitudes of theoretical constructs that have explored collaboration harmoniously.

7 Summary

This thesis was inspired and shaped by an empirical phenomenon that challenged my preconceived notions of what organising could be. As I explored this phenomenon further, I realised that even my deeper assumptions about the parts that constitute it needed rethinking. The research process prompted me to pause and reflect on some questions concerning stability, order, and continuity. As a result, what I have presented is a grounded, evidenced, and yet *in-flux* story that highlights what can happen when assumptions of stability, order, and continuity are purposefully pushed back, resisted, or suspended. Through this story, I have suggested that such a pause is sometimes useful. I will use the last few pages of this thesis to summarise the core aspects of my research work and highlight the limitations that it incurs as well as the possibilities it opens up for future research work.

Contributions to knowledge

In the course of this research journey, the core research question that I have been able to ask and begin to answer is 'how is collaborative work performed on a day-to-day basis?'. Using ethnography, I have explored and foregrounded the day-to-day organising within two informal collaborative projects. I have presented thick descriptions of how these collaborative events came to be, struggled, carried on, survived, and transformed. Furthermore, using structuration theory I have offered possible explanations of the organising behaviour within this collaborative work. The core contribution that I have made is in the form of the concept '*human* work of collaboration'.

To build towards this contribution, through my own immersion in informal collaborative work, I have suggested that collaborators perform day-to-day work through attempts to impose order, while simultaneously embracing chaos and disorder. The narratives that I have presented have highlighted the entangled, messy, and complex practice through which such work is performed. People hoping to make a success of informal collaborative work necessarily drew on their personalities, past experiences, social self, and emotions as much as they did on any abstract organising principles. They brought, *inter alia*, their dreams, hopes, moods, ambitions, grudges, and shortcomings with them, shaping the work through them. My account has reinforced the limitations of 'finding one practical solution' and how collaborators deal with this. I have suggested that such a description is useful because it allows us to acknowledge the messiness of collaborative work and can prepare those who would wish to undertake such work for the uncertain and the unpredictable.

Furthermore, through the analysis of this contextual narrative, I have identified three dialectic tensions as plausible means of performing such work. By using the concepts of legitimisation, domination, and signification as well as the themes prominent within my data, I have shown that the collaborators enact and maintain contradictions within ethicality, consensus building, and meaning

making. Collaborative work within an informal context is performed by enacting interpersonal contradictions through actions entirely opposite to one another that are both deemed acceptable or even coherent within different situations, sometimes even by the same actor. Accordingly, people performing collaborative work are both tireless heroes and biased guardians when deciding what is the right thing to do. They employ both a communal and prudent outlook when building consensus. They play with contrasting meanings of terms to figure out what their actions created. Through doing all of these things, they personalise the collaborative work for themselves and other actors. These peculiar contradictory behaviours lead to certain kinds of chaos (disorganisation and uncertainty) but also allow for certain benefits (flexibility and creativity). In an informal context, this is nurtured and encouraged whereas systematisation is resisted.

Subsequently, I term the recurring and consistent form of this abstract behaviour as *human* work of collaboration; by this I refer to the purposeful and tentative engagement with dehumanised organising principles and tools (meetings, agendas, forms etc.) as well as efforts to translate them to the *situational*. To accomplish this task, day-to-day collaborative work is performed in a very *human* way that is full of contradictions, always incomplete and flawed, deeply contextual, and immensely personal. Such agentic intervention takes place within a complex structural space and in-the-moment collaborative work. This performance itself continuously reshapes what can be understood as collaborative work. I suggest that the 'human work of collaboration' can be a useful concept to apply to other contexts, which in turn can enrich our understanding of the *general* characterisation of collaborative work. Considering the *human* work of collaboration within multiple contexts implies that collaborative projects are seen as quasi-stable systems which are always *in the making*. This orientation can afford us novel insights regarding the organising that happens within a collaborative context. Following, I have discussed and positioned my answer within other theories that have tried to understand collaboration. More specifically, I have shown how my conceptualisation advances the pluralist integrative perspective that has started connecting harmoniously the various theories which are used to understand collaborations.

To reiterate, the original multifaceted contributions to knowledge that I make, that is the concept of *human* work of collaboration, reifies as: 1) a situated descriptive account of day-to-day collaborative work, 2) a conceptual unpacking of the inherent contradictions at the contextual, but, more specifically, at the personal/human level, and 3) a potential sociological explanation of these inherent contradictions within other contexts. Using this concept, I contribute to the current knowledge through: a) generating descriptive insights regarding Share Fair and Rock4Refugee, b) identifying dialectic tensions in ethicality, consensus building, and meaning making within an informal collaborative context, and c) extending it as an explanation of the organising behaviour beyond the informal context to collaborative work in *general*. Furthermore, I have started building an argument for the advancement of the theorisation of collaborations using a processual structurationist philosophical underpinning. However, as my research has shown, the path toward this direction is not a straightforward one. Such a perspective opens up some very specific possibilities; however, at the same time, it suffers some significant limitations. I discuss some of these below and, building upon the argument of my thesis, I outline some directions for future research that may advance the academic knowledge surrounding collaborative work.

Limitations of the study

An inherent limitation of my research is that, in the theoretical orientation adopted, while theorising and empirical are both iteratively supported by one another, neither can take priority. Although, chronologically, the empirical familiarisation happened prior to the theoretical underpinning, my research only made sense as a 'research subject' when theoretical understanding was used. Hence,

the abstract theoretical is only a backdrop to create a rich thick description, and, simultaneously, the empirical is only tentatively useful for the wider understanding i.e., the analytical generalisations. What is important, what is assumed and what can be said continuously changes and depends on one another. This means that the ongoing ordering of one through the others cannot be convincingly captured in the written word. Even the unconventional writing style, which I have utilised to attest to the analytical mess within my research, still falls short of expressing such a *flux* to its full extent.

Furthermore, there is a tension between thick description and analytical theorising that I have bracketed for moving between the *particular* and the *general.* There is indeed a need in collaborative research to further the situation-specific, time-specific, and person-specific elements of collaborative work. However, the immersive, insider, ethnographic, descriptive, or narrative methods, which delve into such aspects in order to observe, describe, and reconstruct the agents' actions *in praxi*, stand in tension with the abstract and the analytical that could stretch beyond the immediate. To perform the *doing* of my research I have bracketed this issue, but such bracketing limits the scope of the analytical generalisation.

Lastly, although such research continuously diverts from the criterion of a *standard research*, trimming parts of my argument to fit them in the normative structure of a 'typical' research, 'typical' journal article, or 'typical' thesis etc. would not leave room for the extensive interpretive arguments in the manner that I have built them. A *standard research* would resist a focus on the mess and disorder not only within my research site but also within the research method that I employed, both of which are integral to my core argument. Grounded in a pluralistic perspective, I argue that such a variety in orientation is helpful rather than hindersome; nevertheless, this purposeful unstructured approach can be a barrier to dissemination. Another variant of this limitation is that my research does not offer direct implications for practice. I suggest that the familiarisation with the descriptive answer that I have crafted would indeed be useful to practitioners. This is because it would make them aware of the kinds of uncertainty and disorder that they will experience in their collaborative work. However, as my methodology suggests, the problem of 'not knowing what you do not know' is extremely specific to each setting and cannot be solved through transferability, imagination, or anticipation. My account, in its abstract explanation, offers a glimpse at 'how things typically happen', but such an answer is indeed limited and does not offer prescriptive implications for practice.

<u>Possibilities for future research</u>

Through my research, by looking at the two instances of informal collaborative work and their analysis through a sociological theory, I have shown one possibility of how my particular research orientation (processual structurationist ethnography) can further our understanding of a complex research subject. My contribution opens up several other possibilities that could be pursued through future research. Further explanatory and descriptive accounts of the nature of agency, employed in an informal or formal collaborative context, would indeed be useful for a qualitative contrast against the account that I have produced. Such a comparison is likely to yield further insights into the role that agency plays in structuring the phenomenon. It would also be valuable to continue developing a theoretical perspective that can accommodate such pluralist explanations.

For instance, the concept '*human* work of collaboration' can be employed in other contexts to generate situational accounts. Future research work could assess the extent to which the *human* work of collaboration is visible in other collaborative work arrangements. Using the same perspective, it is also entirely plausible to create accounts of restrictions, routinisation, stability, and order that describe how the contextual aspects limit the *human* work of collaboration. The exploration of

whether agency has more or less (or different) explanatory power in different contexts would usefully extend the descriptive theoretical understanding of agency that I have contributed towards.

Additionally, researchers could investigate other dialectic tensions that are employed in the performance of collaborative work at an interpersonal level. More specifically, researchers could also extend the interpretation in this thesis by either identifying dimensions other than ethicality, consensus building, meaning making or interrelated aspects within them. In the grouping of the interrelated aspects within ethicality, consensus building, and meaning making I have purposefully used empty circles to highlight their incompleteness (See Figure 15, Figure 19, Figure 22). Further descriptive accounts of contradictory enactments at an interpersonal level in these dimensions would be useful to shift the focus towards aspects not considered in this work. Moreover, the data collected in this research have the potential for generating additional insights through further analysis. An analysis through a teleological perspective for the abovementioned dimensions or consideration of materiality within the process of structuration may offer valuable contributions to academic literature as well as practice.

Finally, a logical extension of any structurationist application would be to employ the multiple theoretical resources in an academic field more fully in order to develop propositional forms of research. Previous research works that have used the structurationist perspective for understanding collaborations have paved the way for the present study; this is the same path on which I have advanced another step in a pluralist orientation and, yet the road remains significantly untrod. Future research could build on this and continue exploring 'theories of variety' that can advance a pluralist integrative approach. One possible way to do this is through another unique empirical setting that requires the careful combination of contradictory aspects for its exploration. However, scholars could also take a purely conceptual approach. This would involve reading the existing insights from the rich literature on collaboration and, more particularly, from different theoretical perspectives used to understand collaboration in a structurationist light. This exercise could identify not only where multiple theoretical perspectives differ but also the aspects on which they could be harmoniously connected further, thus contributing to a pluralist orientation.

<u>An afterword</u>

Unfortunately, Share Fair and Rock4Refugees have been suspended. The COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting social distancing have brought an abrupt end to these and most of the other community events. The fragile connections, which need constant nurture to make such collaborative initiatives happen, have now become even more dispersed. However, the importance of these connections, through their absence, has been dearly felt within the community. Using the social media spaces and other online platforms that were used towards organising purposes, a lot of the conversation between organisers has shifted to the virtual space. The bridges made through events like Share Fair and Rock4Refugees have helped sustain some of these connections. In some cases, these friendships have carried people through their periods of loneliness. There are plans to restore such events when social spaces are open again. In the ongoing chats with organisers, there is a visible push towards thinking about what we can do once the situation changes. People are looking towards the future and imagining how they would like to reshape collaborative projects. Uncertainty, after all, is also tied up with possibilities.

8 References

Ackermann, F. *et al.* (2005) 'GSS for Multiorganizational Collaboration: Reflections on Process and Content', *Group Decision and Negotiation*, 14(4), pp. 307–31.

Al-Harrasi, N. (2014) 'The Application of Organizational Learning Theory to Omani Academic Library Collaboration', *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 147, pp. 86–90. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.07.119.

Alimadadi, S., Bengtson, A. and Salmi, A. (2019) 'Disruption, dissolution and reconstruction: A dialectical view on inter-organizational relationship development', *Scandinavian Journal of Management*. doi: 10.1016/j.scaman.2019.101047.

Amram, R. and Kulatilaka, N. (1999) *Real Options: Managing Strategic Investments in an Uncertain World*. Cambridge MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Anderson, E. and Gatignon, H. (1986) 'Models of foreign entry: a transaction cost analysis and propositions', *Journal of International Business Studies*, 17(3), pp. 1–26.

Anslinger, P. and Jenk, J. (2004) 'Creating Successful Alliances', *Journal of Business Strategy*, 25(2), pp. 18–22.

Antoniadou, V. (2011) 'Using Activity Theory to understand the contradictions in an online transatlantic collaboration between student-teachers of English as a Foreign Language', *ReCALL*, 23(3), pp. 233–251. doi: 10.1017/S0958344011000164.

Archer, M. (1996) *Culture and Agency*. Revised. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arsenyan, J., Büyüközkan, G. and Feyzioglu, O. (2015) 'Modeling collaboration formation with a game theory approach', *Expert Systems with Applications*, 42(4), pp. 2073–2085. doi: 10.1016/j.eswa.2014.10.010.

Arya, B. and Lin, Z. (2007) 'Understanding collaboration outcomes from an extended resource-based view perspective: The roles of organizational characteristics, partner attributes, and network structures', *Journal of Management*, 33(5), pp. 697–723. doi: 10.1177/0149206307305561.

Atkinson, P. and Hammersley, M. (2007) *Ethnography: Princople in practice*. 3rd edn. Oxon: Routledge.

August, T. K. (2012) 'The Contradictions in Culinary Collaboration: Vietnamese American Bodies in Top Chef and Stealing Buddha's Dinner', *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the U.S.*, 37(3), pp. 97–115. doi: 10.1353/mel.2012.0052.

Aunger, R. (1995) 'On Ethnography: Storytelling or Science?', *Current Anthropology*, 36(1), pp. 97–130.

Babiak, K. and Thibault, L. (2009) 'Challenges in Multiple Cross-Sector Partnerships', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, (2003), pp. 117–143.

Bachmann, R. and Zaheer, A. (2009) 'Trust in Inter-organizational Relations', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 533–554. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0020.

Baert, P. (1998) *Social Theory in Twentieth Century*. New York: New York University Press.

Barley, S. (1986) 'Technology as an Occasion for Structuring : Evidence from Observations of CT Scanners and the Social Order of Radiology Departments', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 31(1), pp. 78–108. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2392767.

Bauman, Z. (1989) 'Hermeneutics and Modern Social Theory', in Held, D. and Thompson, J. B. (eds)

Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 34–56.

Baumeister, R. F. and Leary, M. R. (1997) 'Writing narrative literature reviews', *Review of General Psychology*, 1(3), pp. 311–320. doi: 10.1037/1089-2680.1.3.311.

Beech, P. and Huxham, C. (2003) 'Contrary prescriptions: Recognizing good practice tensions in management', *Organization Studies*, 24(1), pp. 69–93.

Bell, E., Bryman, A. and Harley, B. (2019) *Business Research Methods*. 5th edn. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Bergquist, W., Betwee, J. and Meuel, D. (1995) *Building Strategic Relationships: How to Extend Your Organization' Reach through Partnerships, Alliances, and Joint Ventures*. San Francsisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bizzi, L. and Langley, A. (2012) 'Studying processes in and around networks', *Industrial Marketing Management*, 41, pp. 224–234. doi: 10.1016/j.indmarman.2012.01.007.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, pp. 77–101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Brockhoff, K. (1992) 'R&D cooperation between firms: a perceived transaction cost perspective', *Management Science*, 38(4), pp. 514–24.

Brown, P., Monthoux, G. and McCullough, A. (1976) *The Access Casebook*. Stockholm, Sweden: Teknisk Hogskolelitteratur.

Bruni, A. (2006) 'Access as trajectory: Entering the field in organizational ethnography', *M@n@gement*, 9(3), pp. 137–152. doi: 10.3917/mana.093.0137.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2015) *Business Research Methods*. 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Bryson, J. M., Crosby, B. C. and Stone, M. (2006) 'The Design and Implementation of Cross-Sector Collaborations : Propositions from the Literature', *Public Administration Review*, 66(Special Issue), pp. 44–55.

Buchanan, D. A. and Bryman, A. (2007) 'Contextualiszing Methods Choices in Organizational Research', *Organizational Research Methods*, 10(3), pp. 483–501. doi: 10.1177/1094428106295046.

Buchel, B. (2003) 'Managing Partner Relations in Joint Ventures', *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 44(4), pp. 91–95.

Chenail, R. (2011) 'Interviewing the investigator: Strategies for Addressing Instrumentation and Researcher Bias Concerns in Qualitative Research', *The Qualitative Report*, 16(1), pp. 255–262.

Chenail, R. (2012a) 'Conducting Qualiative Data Analysis: Qualidataive Data Analysis as a Metaphoric Process', *The Qualitative Report*, 17(1), pp. 248–253.

Chenail, R. (2012b) 'Conducting Qulitative Data Analysis: Reading Line-by-Line, but Analysing by Meaningful Qualitative Units', *The Qualitative Report*, 17(1), pp. 266–269.

Child, J. (2001) 'Trust: The Fundamental Bond in Global Collaboration', *Organizational Dynamics*, 29(4), pp. 274–88.

Child, J. and Faulkner, D. O. (1998) *Strategies of Cooperation: Managing Alliances, Networks, and Joint Ventures*. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Child, J. and Rodriguez, S. (1996) 'The role of social identity in the international transfer of knowledge through joint ventures.', in Clegg, S. and Palmer, I. (eds) *Producing Management Knowledge*. London:

SAGE, pp. 46–68.

Clarke-hill, C., Li, H. and Davies, B. (2003) 'The Paradox of Co-Operation and Copetition in Strategic Alliances: Towards a Multi-Paradigm Approach', *Management Research News*, 26(1), pp. 1–20.

Community Fund (2020). Available at: https://www.tnlcommunityfund.org.uk/about (Accessed: 5 December 2020).

Connelly, D., Zang, J. and Faerman, S. (2008) 'The Paradoxical Nature of Collaboration', in O'Leary, R. and Bingham, L. (eds) *Big Ideas in Collaborative Public Management*. Washington DC: M E Sharpe, pp. 17–35.

Copeland, T. and Keenan, P. (1998) 'Making real options real', *McKinsey Quarterly*, 3, pp. 128–41.

Cornforth, C., Hayes, J. P. and Vangen, S. (2015) 'Nonprofit – Public Collaborations : Understanding Governance Dynamics', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 44(4), pp. 775–795. doi: 10.1177/0899764014532836.

Craib, I. (1992) *Modern Social Theory*. Oxon: Routledge.

Craib, I. (2011) *Anthony Giddens*. New York: Taylor and Francis e-Library. doi: 10.1002/9781444396621.ch37.

Cropper, S. *et al.* (2009) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*. Edited by S. Cropper et al. Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.001.0001.

Crosby, B. C. and Bryson, J. M. (2005a) 'A Leadership Framework for Cross-Sector Collaboration', *Public Management Review*, 7(2), pp. 177–201.

Crosby, B. C. and Bryson, J. M. (2005b) *Leadership for Common Good*. 2nd edn. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2010) 'Retelling Tales of the Field', *Organizational Research Methods*, 13(2), pp. 224–239. doi: 10.1177/1094428109340041.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2011) 'Crafting qualitative research: Morgan and Smircich 30 years on', *Organizational Research Methods*, 14(4), pp. 647–673. doi: 10.1177/1094428110373658.

Cunliffe, A. L. and Alcadipani, R. (2016) 'The Politics of Access in Fieldwork: Immersion, Backstage Dramas, and Deception', *Organizational Research Methods*, 19(4), pp. 535–561. doi: 10.1177/1094428116639134.

Cunliffe, A. L. and Karunanayake, G. (2013) 'Working Within Hyphen-Spaces in Ethnographic Research: Implications for Research Identities and Practice', *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(3), pp. 364–392. doi: 10.1177/1094428113489353.

Danner-Schröder, A. and Geiger, D. (2016) 'Unravelling the Motor of Patterning Work: Toward an Understanding of the Microlevel Dynamics of Standardization and Flexibility', *Organization Science*, 27(3), pp. 633–658. doi: 10.1287/orsc.2016.1055.

Das, T. K. and Teng, B.-S. (2000) 'Instabilities of Strategic Alliances: An Internal Tensions Perspective', *Organization Science*, 11(1), pp. 77–101. doi: 10.1287/orsc.11.1.77.12570.

Delmar, C. (2010) '"Generalizability" as Recognition: Reflections on a Foundational Problem in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Studies*, 1(2), pp. 115–128.

DiMaggio, P. J. (1986) 'Structural Analysis of Organizational Fields: A Blockmodel Approach', in Staw, B. M. and Cummings, L. L. (eds) *Research in Organizational Behavior*. Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, pp.

335–70.

DiMaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1983) 'The Iron Cage Revisited : Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields', *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), pp. 147–160.

Donato, M. (2016) *The Influence of Resource Dependency on Collaboration in the Construction Supply Chain*. Victoria University. Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2fb5/d63f5f55bcc29a4d026a31c188210a5e2be4.pdf.

Doreian, P. and Stockman, F. (2003) 'The Dynamics and Evolution of Social Networks', in Doreian, P. and Stockman, F. (eds) *Evolution of Social Networks*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, pp. 1–17.

Doz, Y. . (1996a) 'The evolution of cooperation in strategic alliances: Initial conditions of learning processes?', *Strategic Management Journal*, 17, pp. 55–83.

Doz, Y. . (1996b) 'The evolution of cooperation in strategic alliances: initial conditions or learning processes?', *Strategic Management Journal*, 17(Special Issue), pp. 55–83.

Drake, D. H., Simmons, K. and Smith, K. (2013) 'Building communities collaboratively : the Milton Keynes Community Mobiliser Service', *Community Development Journal*, 49(2), pp. 311–326. doi: 10.1093/cdj/bst036.

Draulan, J., Deman, A. P. and Volberda, H. W. (2003) 'Building Alliance Capability: Management Techniques for Superior Alliance Performance', *Long Range Planning2*, 36, pp. 151–66.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thrope, R. and Jackson, P. (2012) *Management Research*. London: SAGE.

Ebers, M. and Oliver, A. L. (1998) 'Analysis of Conceptual Configurations in Inter-organizational Relationships', *Organization Studies*, 19(4), pp. 549–583. doi: 10.1177/017084069801900402.

Edelenbos, J. (2005) 'Institutional Implications of Interactive Governance: Insights from Dutch Practice', *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions*, 18(1), pp. 111–34.

Eden Project (2020) *Eden story, educational charity - Eden Project, Cornwall*. Available at: http://www.edenproject.com/eden-story#0IKefo9fyPJf3FAY.97 (Accessed: 3 June 2017).

Eden Project Communities (2020) *About Us*. Available at: https://www.edenprojectcommunities.com/about (Accessed: 3 June 2017).

Ernst, D. and Bramford, J. (2005) 'Your Alliances Are Too Stable', *Harvard Business Review*, (June), pp. 133–61.

Fairfield, K. D. and Wing, K. T. (2008) 'Collaboration in Foundation Grantor-Grantee Relationships', *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 19(1), pp. 27–44. doi: 10.1002/nml.

Faulkner, D. O. and de Rond, M. (2000) 'Perspectives on cooperative strategy', in Faulkner, D. O. and de Rond, M. (eds) *Cooperative Strategy: Economic, Business, and Organizational Issues*. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Feldman, G. (2011) 'If ethnography is more than participant-observation, then relations are more than connections: The case for nonlocal ethnography in a world of apparatuses', *Anthropological Theory*, 11(4), pp. 375–395. doi: 10.1177/1463499611429904.

Feldman, M. S. (2000) 'Organizational Routines as a Source of Continuous Change', *Organization Science*, 11(6), pp. 611–629. doi: 10.1287/orsc.11.6.611.12529.

Fetterman, D. M. (2010) *Ethnography: Step-by-Step*. London: SAGE.

Fine, G. (1994) 'Ten Lies of Ethnography: Moral Dilemmas in Field Research', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. SAGE, pp. 267–294.

Fitzpatrick, W. and Dilullo, S. (2005) 'Strategic Alliances and the Management of Intellectual Properties: The Art of the Contract', *SAM Advanced Management Journal*, 70(3), pp. 38–45.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making Social Science Matter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five misunderstandings about case-study research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), pp. 219–245. doi: 10.1177/1077800405284363.

Freeman, J. and Audia, P. (2006) 'Community Ecology and the Sociology of Organizations', *Annual Reviews of Sociology*, 32, pp. 145–69.

Friend, J. and Hickling, A. (2005) *lanning under Pressure: The Strategic Choice Approach*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Garrard, J. (2017) *Health Sciences Literature Review Made Easy: The Matrix Method*. Fifth. Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning.

Garrow, E. E. and Hasenfeld, Y. (2014) 'Institutional Logics , Moral Frames , and Advocacy : Explaining the Purpose of Advocacy Among Nonprofit Human-Service Organizations', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 43(1), pp. 80–98. doi: 10.1177/0899764012468061.

Gates, S. (1989) 'Semiconductor firm strategies and technological cooperation: a perceived transaction cost approach', *Journal of Engineering and Technology Management*, 6, pp. 117–44.

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of cultures*, *Basic Books*. New York. doi: 10.4324/9780203790571-27.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1989) 'A reply to my critiques', in Held, D. and Thompson, J. B. (eds) *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 249–302.

Giddens, A. (1993) *New Rules of Sociological Method*. Second. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Giddens, A. (2010) *Central Problems in Social Theory*. 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. and Pierson, C. (1998) *Making Sense of Modernity*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Gilmore, S. and Harding, N. (no date) 'There is no such thing as a journal paper', in Meier, N. and Maslo, E. (eds) *In praise of detours*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goffman, E. (1989) 'On Fieldwork', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnogrpahy*, 18(2), pp. 123–132.

Gottlieb, S. C. and Haugbølle, K. (2013) 'Contradictions and collaboration: Partnering in-between systems of production, values and interests', *Construction Management and Economics*, 31(2), pp. 119–134. doi: 10.1080/01446193.2012.756141.

Graf, L. (2015) 'Organizing and Conducting Scholarly Literature Reviews', in Strang, K. D. (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Research Design in Business and Management*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 109–119. doi: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137484956_8.

Grant, M. J. and Booth, A. (2009) 'A typology of reviews: An analysis of 14 review types and associated methodologies', *Health Information and Libraries Journal*, 26(2), pp. 91–108. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-1842.2009.00848.x.

Gray, B. (1991) *Collaborating: Finding common ground for multi-party problems*. San Francisco: Jossey-

Bass.

Gray, B. (2009) 'Intervening to Improve Inter-organizational Partnerships', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 664–690. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0025.

Green, B., Johnson, C. and Adams, A. (2006) 'Writing Narrative Literature Reviews for Peer-reviewed Journals - Secrets of the Trade', *Clinical Update*, 5(3), pp. 101–117.

Gregson, N. (1989) 'On the (ir) relevance of structuration theory to empirical research', in Held, D. and Thompson, J. B. (eds) *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 235–249.

Gulati, R. (1995) 'Does Familiarity Breed Trust? The Implications of Repeated Ties for Contractual Choice in Alliances', *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(1), pp. 85–112.

Halkier, B. (2011) 'Methodological practicalities in analytical generalization', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(9), pp. 787–797. doi: 10.1177/1077800411423194.

Hamel, J. (1991) 'Competition for competence and interpartner learning within international strategic alliances', *Strategic Management Journal*, 12, pp. 83–103.

Hamel, J., Doz, Y. . and Prahalad, C. K. (1989) 'Collaborate with your competitors – and win', *Harvard Business Review*, 67(1), pp. 113–119.

Hammersley, M. (1990) 'What's wrong with Ethnogrpahy? The Myth of Theoretical Description', *Sociology*, 24(4), pp. 597–615.

Hammersley, M. (1995) 'Theory and evidence in qualitative research', *Quality & Quantity*, 29(1), pp. 55–66. doi: 10.1007/BF01107983.

Hammersley, M. (2001) 'On "systematic" reviews of research literatures: a "narrative" response to Evans and Benefield', *British Education Research Journall*, 27(5), pp. 543–554. doi: 10.1080/0141192012009572.

Hannan, M. and Freeman, J. (1984) 'Structural Inertia and Organizational Change', *American Journal of Sociology*, 49(2), pp. 149–64.

Harland, C. *et al.* (2004) 'A Conceptual Model for Researching the Creation and Operation of Supply Networks', *British Journal of Management*, 15, pp. 1–21.

Haslam, D. (2020) *The Role of the Voluntary Sector in Cross-Sector Collaborations : An NHS Multispecialty Community Community Provider*. The Open University.

Held, D. and Thompson, J. B. (1989) *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.2307/591454.

Hennert, J. F. (1988) 'A transaction cost theory of equity joint ventures', *Strategic Management Journal*, 9, pp. 361–74.

Hennert, J. F. (1991) 'The transaction cost theory of joint ventures', *Management Science*, 37, pp. 483–97.

Hibbert, P., Huxham, C. and Ring, P. S. (2009) 'Managing Collaborative Inter-organizational Relations', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 390–416. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0015.

Himmelman, A. (1996) 'On the Theory and Practice of Transformational Collaboration: From Social Service to Social Justice', in Huxham, C. (ed.) *Creating Collaborative Advantage*. Thousand Oaks, CA:

SAGE Publication, pp. 19–43.

Hoffman, W. (2005) 'How to Manage a Portfolio of Alliances', *Long Range Planning*, 38(2), pp. 121–44.

Holloway, I., Brown, L. and Shipway, R. (2010) 'Meaning not measurement: Using ethnography to bring a deeper understanding to the participant experience of festivals and events', *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 1(1), pp. 74–85. doi: 10.1108/17852951011029315.

Huxham, C. (1996) *Creating Collaborative Advantage*. London: SAGE Publication.

Huxham, C. (2003) 'Theorizing collaboration practice', *Public Management Review*, 5(3), pp. 401–423. doi: 10.1080/1471903032000146964.

Huxham, C. and Vangen, S. (2004) 'Doing things collaboratively: Realizing the advantage or succumbing to inertia?', *Organizational Dynamics*, 33(2), pp. 190–201. doi: 10.1016/j.orgdyn.2004.01.006.

Huxham, C. and Vangen, S. (2005) *Managing to Collaborate: The theory and practice of collaborative advantage*. London: Routledge.

Imperial, M. (2005) 'Using Collaboration as a Governance Strategy: Lessons from Six Watershed Management Programs', *Administration & Society*, 37(3), pp. 281–320.

Inkpen, A. and Crossan, M. (1995) 'Believing is seeing: joint ventures and organizational learning.', *Journal of Management Studies*, 32, pp. 595–618.

Jacklin-jarvis, C. (2015) 'Collaborating across sector boundaries: a story of tensions and dilemmas', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 6(3), pp. 285–302.

Jacklin-Jarvis, C. (2015) 'Collaborating across sector boundaries: a story of tensions and dilemmas', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 6(3), pp. 285–302. doi: 10.1332/204080515x14448338369886.

Jaimangal-Jones, D. (2014) 'Utilising ethnography and participant observation in festival and event research', *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 5(1), pp. 39–55. doi: 10.1108/IJEFM-09-2012-0030.

Jarzabkowski, P., Bednarek, R. and Lê, J. K. (2014) 'Producing persuasive findings: Demystifying ethnographic textwork in strategy and organization research', *Strategic Organization*, 12(4), pp. 274–287. doi: 10.1177/1476127014554575.

Jobin, D. (2008) 'A transaction cost-based approach to partnership performance evaluation', *Evaluation*, 14(4), pp. 437–465. doi: 10.1177/1356389008095487.

Jones, C. and Lichtenstein, B. B. (2009) 'Temporary Inter-organizational Projects: How Temporal and Social Embeddedness Enhance Coordination and Manage Uncertainty', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 232–255. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0009.

Joyner, K. A. (2011) *Individual Agency as Explanation of Alliance Development and Change: A Case Study*. Queensland University of Techology. Available at: https://eprints.qut.edu.au/46047/1/Katherine_Joyner_Thesis.pdf.

Kale, P., Dyer, J. and Singh, H. (2001) 'Value Creation and Success in Strategic Alliances: Alliancing Skills and the Role of Alliance Structure and Systems', *European Management Journal*, 19(5), pp. 463–71.

Kara, H. (2013) 'It's hard to tell how research feels: using fiction to enhance academic research and writing', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 8(1), pp.

70–84. doi: 10.1108/17465641311327522.

Kara, H. (2014) 'Third sector partnerships and capability building : What the evidence tells us', *Third Sector Research Centre*, (September), p. Working paper.

Kilduff, M. and Tsai, W. (2003) *Social Networks and Organizations*. London: SAGE Publication.

Kim, T. Y., Oh, H. and Swaminathan, A. (2006) 'Framing Interorganizational Network Change: A Network Inertia Perspective', *Academy of Management Review*, 31(3), pp. 704–20.

Knights, D. and Clarke, C. (2017) 'Pushing the Boundaries of Amnesia and Myopia : A Critical Review of the Literature on Identity in Management and Organization Studies', 19, pp. 337–356. doi: 10.1111/ijmr.12147.

Kogut, B. and Kulatilaka, N. (2001) 'Capabilities as real options', *Organization Science*, 12(6), pp. 744–59.

Kourti, I., Garcia-Lorenzo, L. and Yu, A. (2018) 'Managing the interactions between multiple identities in inter-organizational collaborations: an identity work perspective', *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 27(4), pp. 506–519. doi: 10.1080/1359432X.2018.1484728.

Lamont, M. and Molnar, V. (2002) 'The study of boundaries in social science', *Annual Reviews of Sociology*, 28(1), pp. 167–95.

Lank, E. (2006) *Collaborative Advantage: How Organizations Win by Working Together*. Edited by Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke.

Law, J. (2004) *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. Oxon: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203481141.

Lawrence, T. B., Hardy, C. and Phillips, N. (2002) 'Institutional Effects of Interorganizational Collaboration : The Emergence of Proto- Institutions', *Academy of Management Journal*, 44(1), pp. 281–290.

Lee, H. *et al.* (2012) 'Trust in a Cross-Sectoral Interorganizational Network : An Empirical Investigation of Antecedents', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(4), pp. 609–631. doi: 10.1177/0899764011414435.

Lee, S. M., Olson, D. L. and Trimi, S. (2012) 'Co-innovation: convergenomics, collaboration, and co-creation for organizational values', *Management Decision*, 50(5), pp. 817–831. doi: 10.1108/00251741211227528.

Li, G. *et al.* (2015) 'Joint supply chain risk management: An agency and collaboration perspective', *International Journal of Production Economics*, 164(C), pp. 83–94.

Li, J. (2008) 'Ethical Challenges in Participant Observation: A Reflection on Ethnographic Fieldwork', *The Qualitative Report*, 13(1), pp. 100–115. doi: www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-1/li.pdf.

Lindner, S. (2011) *Naratives of working within a complex organisation: Ethnogrpahic study of cultural competence*. Queen Margaret University.

Lomi, A., Larsen, E. and Freeman, J. (2005) 'Things Change: Dynamic Resource Constraints and System-Dependent Selection in the Evolution of Organizational Populations', *Management Science*, 51(6), pp. 882–903.

Lomi, A., Negro, G. and Fonti, F. (2009) 'Evolutionary Perspectives on Inter-organizational Relations', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 313–338. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0012.

Ma, Q. *et al.* (2014) 'Modeling collaboration in academia', in *International World Wide Web Conference Commitee*, pp. 1177–1182. doi: 10.1145/2567948.2579032.

Van Maanen, J. (1988) *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnogrpahy*. 2nd edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1995) 'Style as Theory', *Organisation Science*, 6(November 2020), pp. 133–143. doi: https://doi.org/10.1287/ orsc.6.1.133 Full.

Van Maanen, J. (2010) 'Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement', *Journal of Management Studies*, 48(1), pp. 218–234. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6486.2010.00980.x.

MacMillan, K. and Koenig, T. (2004) 'The Wow Factor: Preconceptions and Expectations for Data Analysis Software in Qualitative Research', *Social Science Computer Review*, 22(2), pp. 179–186. doi: 10.1177/0894439303262625.

Madhvan, R., Koka, B. and Prescott, J. (1998) 'Networks in Transition: How Industry Events (Re)shape Interfirm Relationships', *Strategic Management Journal*, 19(5), pp. 439–459.

Malatesta, D. and Smith, C. R. (2014) 'Lessons from Resource Dependence Theory for Contemporary Public and Nonprofit Management', *Public Administration Review*, 74(1), pp. 14–25.

Malhotra, D. and Lumineau, F. (2011) 'Trust and collaboration in the aftermath of conflict: The effects of contract structure', *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(5), pp. 981–998. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41413602.

de Man, A. P. (2005) 'Alliance Capability: A Comparison of the Alliance Strength of European and American Companies', *European Management Journal*, 23(3), pp. 315–23.

Mankin, D. and Cohen, S. (2004) *Business without Boundaries: An Action Framework for Collaborating across Time, Distance, Organization and Culture*. Torronto: Wiley.

Marcus, G. E. (1994) 'What comes (just) after "post"? The case of ethnography', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 563–74.

Mattessich, P., Murray-Close, M. and Monsey, B. (2001) *Collaboration--what makes it work*. Saint Paul, Minn.: Amherst H. Wilder Foundation.

Mayo, M. and Taylor, M. (2001) 'Partnerships and Power in Community Regeneration', in Balloch, S. and Taylor, M. (eds) *Partnership Working*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

McCurdy, P. and Uldam, J. (2014) 'Connecting Participant Observation Positions: Toward a Reflexive Framework for Studying Social Movements', *Field Methods*, 26(1), pp. 40–55. doi: 10.1177/1525822X13500448.

Medcoff, J. (2001) 'Resource-Based Strategy and Managerial Power in Networks of Internationally Dispersed Technology Units', *Strategic Management Journal*, 22(11), pp. 999–1012.

Melvin, G. (2019) *Working Towards a Collaborative Advantage: Oragnisational learning through performance and measurement as organisational control.* Heriot Watt Universit.

Michaelides, R. *et al.* (2013) 'Collaboration networks and collaboration tools a match for SMEs', *International Journal of Production Research*, 51(7), pp. 2034–2048.

Michailova, S. (2011) 'Contextualizing in International Business research: Why do we need more of it and how can we be better at it?', *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 27, pp. 129–139. doi: 10.1016/j.scaman.2010.11.003.

Michailova, S. *et al.* (2014) 'Breaking the silence about exiting fieldwork: A relational approach and its

implications for theorizing', *Academy of Management Review*, 39(2), pp. 138–161. doi: 10.5465/amr.2011.0403.

Milbourne, L. and Cushman, M. (2013) 'From the Third Sector to the Big Society : How Changing UK Government Policies Have Eroded Third Sector Trust', *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, pp. 485–508. doi: 10.1007/s11266-012-9302-0.

Miltenberger, L. (2013) 'Collaboration, contracting and contradictions: How Non-Profit Leaders Can Begin to Think About Collaborating with Government', *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 7(1), pp. 54–60. doi: 10.1002/jls.

Minnaar, R. A. *et al.* (2017) 'A relational perspective on the contract-control-trust nexus in an interfirm relationship', *Management Accounting Research*, 34(March), pp. 30–41. doi: 10.1016/j.mar.2016.07.003.

Moriarty, J. and Manthorpe, J. (2014) 'Fragmentation and competition: voluntary organisations' experiences of support for family carers', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 5(2), pp. 249–257.

Morreale, A. (2015) *Evaluating R & D alliances under uncertainty: a real options approach*. Università degli Studi di Milano Statale.

Moura, J. A., Marinheiro, R. N. and Silva, J. C. (2015) 'Game theory for collaboration in future networks', *Mobile Computing and Wireless Networks: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications*, 4–4, pp. 2061–2091. doi: 10.4018/978-1-4666-8751-6.ch090.

Nicolini, D., Mengis, J. and Swan, J. (2012) 'Understanding the Role of Objects in Cross-Disciplinary Collaboration', *Organization Science*, 23(3), pp. 612–629. doi: 10.1287/orsc.1110.0664.

Nooteboom, B. (2009) 'Learning and Innovation in Inter-organizational Relationships', in *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 607–634. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0023.

O'Brien, J. (2006) *The Production of Reality: Essays and Readings on Social Interaction*. 4th edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Oeye, C., Bjelland, A. K. and Skorpen, A. (2007) 'Doing participant observation in a psychiatric hospital— Research ethics resumed', *Social Science and Medicine*, 65, pp. 2296–2306. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.07.016.

Oliver, J. and Eales, K. (2008) 'Research ethics: Re-evaluating the consequentialist perspective of using covert participant observation in management research', *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 11(3), pp. 344–357. doi: 10.1108/13522750810879057.

Orlikowski, W. J. (1996) 'Improvising Organizational Transformation Over Time: A Situated Change Perspective', *Information Systems Research*, 7(1), pp. 63–92. Available at: https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/id/2217/SWP-3865-34131434.pdf/.

Osborn, R. N. and Hagedoorn, J. (1997a) 'The institutionalization and evolutionary dynamics of interorganizational alliances and networks', *Academy of Management Journal*, 40(2), pp. 261–278. Available at: http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=vfh&AN=9707241946&site=ehost-live.

Osborn, R. N. and Hagedoorn, J. (1997b) 'The Institutionalization and Evolutionary Dynamics of Interorganizational Alliances and Networks', *Academy of Management Journal*, 40(2), pp. 261–278.

Ospina, S. M. and Saz-Carranza, A. (2010) 'Paradox and collaboration in network management', *Administration and Society*, 42(4), pp. 404–440. doi: 10.1177/0095399710362723.

P-PROS (2018) 'International Symposium on Process Organization Studies', in Recinecke, J. et al. (eds) *About Time: Temporality and History in Organization Studies*.

Paré, G. *et al.* (2015) 'Synthesizing information systems knowledge: A typology of literature reviews', *Information and Management*, 52(2), pp. 183–199. doi: 10.1016/j.im.2014.08.008.

Parker, M. (2007) 'Ethnography/ethics', *Social Science and Medicine*, 65(11), pp. 2248–2259. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.08.003.

Pearson, G. (2009) 'The researcher as hooligan: Where "participant" observation means breaking the law', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(3), pp. 243–255. doi: 10.1080/13645570701804250.

Pfeffer, J. and Salancik, G. (1978) *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. New York: Harper and Row.

Philbin, S. P. (2012) 'Resource-based view of university-industry research collaboration', in *roceedings of Portland International Center for Management of Engineering and Technology: Technology Management for Emerging Technologies, PICMET'12*, pp. 400–411. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161337750.pdf.

Phillips, N., Lawrence, T. B. and Hardy, C. (2000) 'Inter-organizational collaboration and the dynamics of institutional fields', *Journal of Management Studies*, 37(1), pp. 23–43. doi: 10.1111/1467-6486.00171.

Pissano, G. P. (1990) 'The R&D boundaries of the firm: an empirical analysis', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, pp. 153–76.

Polos, L., Hannan, M. and Carroll, G. (2002) 'Foundations of a Theory of Social Forms', *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 11(1), pp. 85–115.

Poole, M. S. *et al.* (2000) *Organisational Change and innovation processes: Theory and methods for research*. New York: Oxford Univesity Press.

Poulis, K., Poulis, E. and Plakoyiannaki, E. (2013) 'The role of context in case study selection: An international business perspective', *International Business Review*, 22(1), pp. 304–314. doi: 10.1016/j.ibusrev.2012.04.003.

Powell, W. W. *et al.* (2005) 'Network Dynamics and Field Evolution: The Growth of Interorganizational Collaboration in the Life Sciences', *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(4), pp. 1132–205.

Powell, W. W., Koput, K.W. and Smith-Doerr, L. (1996) 'Interorganizational collaboration and the locus of innovation: networks of learning in biotechnology', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41, pp. 116–45.

Pratt, J., Gordon, P. and Plamping, D. (2005) *Working whole systems*. Oxford: Radcliffe.

Prill-bret (2011) 'Ethnographic Research Methods'. University of the Philippines Baguio (lecture PDF), pp. 1–38.

Pullen, A. and Rhodes, C. (2008) 'Dirty writing', *Culture and Organization*, 14(3), pp. 241–259. doi: 10.1080/14759550802270684.

Reade, I. (2010) *The application of agency theory to managing collaborative relationships between sport organizations: The case of Sport Canada and Canadian Interuniversity Sport*. University of Alberta. doi: https://doi.org/10.7939/R33H80.

Ring, P. S., Doz, Y. . and Olk, P. M. (2005) 'Managing Formation Processes in R&D Consortia'.', *California*

Management Review, 47(4), pp. 137–56.

Ring, P. S. and Van De Ven, A. H. (1994) 'Developmental Processes of Cooperative Interorganizational Relationships.', *Academy of Management Review*, 19(1), pp. 90–118. doi: 10.5465/AMR.1994.9410122009.

Roketskiy, N. (2018) 'Competition and networks of collaboration', *Theoretical Economics*, 13(3), pp. 1077–1110. doi: 10.3982/te2492.

de Rond, M. (2002) 'Reviewer 198, the Hedgehog, and the Fox: Next Generation Theories in Strategy', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 11(1), pp. 35–45. doi: 10.1177/1056492602111017.

de Rond, M. (2003) *Strategic Alliances as Social Facts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

de Rond, M. and Bouchikhi, H. (2004) 'On the Dialectics of Strategic Alliances', *Organization Science*, 15(1), pp. 56–69. doi: 10.1287/orsc.1030.0037.

Santos, F. and Eisenhardt, K. (2005) 'Organisational boundaries and theories of organisation', *Organization Science*, 16(5), pp. 491–508.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2012) *Research Methods for Business Students*. Sixth. Harlow: Pearson.

Schiller, R. S. and Almog-bar, M. (2013) 'Revisiting Collaborations Between Nonprofits and Businesses : An NPO-Centric View and Typology', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 42(5), pp. 942–962. doi: 10.1177/0899764012471753.

Schruijer, S. G. L. (2009) 'The Social Psychology of Inter-organizational Relations', in Cropper, S. et al. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations*, pp. 417–440. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199282944.003.0016.

Share Fair (2020) *Youtube*. Available at: https://www.edenprojectcommunities.com/youtube-share-fair-post (Accessed: 7 December 2020).

Shaughnessy, H. (1994) *Collaboration Management: New Project and Partnering Techniques*. Chichester: Wiley.

Shaw, M. M. (2003) 'Successful Collaboration Between the Nonprofit and Public Sectors', *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 14(1), pp. 107–120.

Shenker, O. and Yan, A. (2002) 'Failure as a Consequence of Partner Politics: Learning from the Life and Death of an International Cooperative Venture', *Human Relations*, 55(5), pp. 565–601.

Sinnewe, E., Charles, M. B. and Keast, R. (2016) 'Australia's Cooperative Research Centre Program: A transaction cost theory perspective', *Research Policy*, 45(1), pp. 195–204. doi: 10.1016/j.respol.2015.09.005.

Slavin, R. E. (1995) 'Best evidence synthesis: an intelligent alternative to meta-analysis', *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology*, 48(1), pp. 1–9. doi: 0.1016/0895-4356(94)00097-a.

Smith, K. and Atkinson, M. (2017) 'Avada kedavra: disenchantment, empathy, and leaving ethnography', *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 9(5), pp. 636–650. doi: 10.1080/2159676X.2017.1354966.

Smith, W. K., Binns, A. and Tushman, M. (2010) 'Complex business models Managing strategies simultaneously', *Long Range Planning*, 43, pp. 448–461. doi: 10.1016/j.lrp.2009.12.003.

Sonenshein, S. (2016) 'Routines and Creativity: From Dualism to Duality', *Organization Science*, 27(3), pp. 739–758. doi: 10.1287/orsc.2016.1044.

Spee, P., Jarzabkowski, P. and Smets, M. (2016) 'The Influence of Routine Interdependence and Skillful Accomplishment on the Coordination of Standardizing and Customizing', *Organization Science*, 27(3), pp. 759–781. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2683287.

Spekman, R. *et al.* (1998) 'Alliance Management: A View from the Past and a Look to the Future', *Journal of Management Studies*, 35(6), pp. 747–64.

Spekman, R., Isabella, L. and MacAvoy, T. (2000) *Alliance Competence: Maximizing the Value of Your Partnerships*. New York: Wiley.

Spracklen, K., Timmins, S. and Long, J. (2010) 'Ethnographies of the imagined, the imaginary and the critically real: Blackness, whiteness, the north of England and rugby league', *Leisure Studies*, 29(4), pp. 397–414. doi: 10.1080/02614367.2010.523838.

Stone, M. M., Crosby, B. C. and Bryson, J. M. (2010) 'Governing public – nonprofit collaborations : understanding their complexity and the implications for research', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 1(3), pp. 309–334.

Stuart, T. E. (1998) 'Network Positions and Propensities to Collaborate: An Investigation of Strategic Alliance Formation in a High-Technology Industry', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43(3), pp. 668–98.

Sydow, J. and Windeler, A. (1998) 'Organizing and Evaluating Interfirm Networks: A Structurationist Perspective on Network Processes and Effectiveness', *Organization Science*, 9(3), pp. 265–284. doi: 10.1287/orsc.9.3.265.

Sydow, J. and Windeler, A. (2003) 'Knowledge, Trust, and Control: Managing Tensions and Contradictions in a Regional Network of Service Firms', *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 33(2), pp. 69–99. doi: 10.1080/00208825.2003.11043679.

Taylor, S. and Land, C. (2014) 'Organizational anonymity and the negotiation of research access', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 9(2), pp. 98–109. doi: 10.1108/QROM-10-2012-1104.

Thomas, G. (2010) 'Doing case study: Abduction not induction, phronesis not theory', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(7), pp. 575–582. doi: 10.1177/1077800410372601.

Thompson, J. B. (1989) 'The theory of structuration', in Held, D. and Thompson, J. B. (eds) *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56–77.

Thomson, A. M. and Perry, J. L. (2006) 'Collaboration Processes : Inside the Black Box', *Public Administration Review*, 66(Special Issue), pp. 20–32. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00663.x.

Thomson, A. M., Perry, J. L. and Miller, T. K. (2007) 'Conceptualizing and measuring collaboration', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 19(1), pp. 23–56. doi: 10.1093/jopart/mum036.

Thornton, P. and Ocasio, W. (2008) 'Institutional Logics', in Grenwood, R. et al. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publication, pp. 99–128.

Tsoukas, H. (1998) 'The word and the world: a critique of representationalism in management research', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 21(5), pp. 781–817. doi: 10.1080/01900699808525316.

Tsoukas, H. and Chia, R. (2002) 'On organizational becoming: Rethinking organizational change', *Organization Science*, 13(5), pp. 567–582. doi: 10.1287/orsc.13.5.567.7810.

Ulbrich, F. and Borman, M. (2012) 'A Resource Dependence Perspective on Modelling Inter-

Organisational IS Collaborations', *UK Academy for Information Systems Conference Proceedings 2012*, pp. 1-15. Paper 13. Available at: http://aisel.aisnet.org/ukais2012/13.

Vangen, S. (2017) 'Developing Practice-Oriented Theory on Collaboration: A Paradox Lens', *Public Administration Review*, 77(2), pp. 263–272. doi: 10.1111/puar.12683.

Vangen, S. and Huxham, C. (2003) 'Nurturing collaborative relations : Building trust in interorganizational collaboration', *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 39(1), pp. 5–32.

Vangen, S. and Huxham, C. (2011) 'The tangled web: Unraveling the principle of common goals in collaborations', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(4), pp. 731–760. doi: 10.1093/jopart/mur065.

Vangen, S. and Winchester, N. (2014) 'Managing Cultural Diversity in Collaborations: A focus on management tensions', *Public Management Review*, 16(5), pp. 686–707. doi: 10.1080/14719037.2012.743579.

Varpio, L. and Regehr, G. (2013) 'What to Do About Trust? A Source of Contradiction in Interprofessional Collaboration', *Journal of Graduate Medical Education*, 5(4), pp. 703–704. doi: 10.4300/jgme-d-13-00317.1.

Vásquez, C., Schoeneborn, D. and Sergi, V. (2016) 'Summoning the spirits: Organizational texts and the (dis)ordering properties of communication', *Human Relations*, 69(3), pp. 629–659. doi: 10.1177/0018726715589422.

Van De Ven, A. H. and Poole, M. S. (1995) 'Explaining development and change in organizations', *The Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), pp. 510–540.

Van De Ven, A. H. and Poole, M. S. (2005) 'Alternative approaches for studying organizational change', *Organization Studies*, 26(9), pp. 1377–1404. doi: 10.1177/0170840605056907.

Verhallen, T. (2016) 'Tuning to the Dance of Ethnography: Ethics during Situated Fieldwork in Single-Mother Child Protection Families', *Current Anthropology*, 57(4), pp. 452–473. doi: 10.1086/687356.

Walker, G., Kogut, B. and Shan, W. (1997) 'Social Capital, Structural Holes and the Formation of an Industry Network', *Organization Science*, 8(2), pp. 109–125.

Wang, Y. (2018) 'A game theory approach for the collaborative planning of production and transportation activities in the supply chain', *Computer Science and Game Theory*, Université.

Warglien, M. and Masuch, M. (1996) *The Logic Of Organizational Disorder*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Watson, C. and Drew, V. (2017) 'Enacting educational partnership: collective identity, decision-making (and the importance of muffin chat)', *School Leadership and Management*, 37(1–2), pp. 3–18. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2016.1209181.

Weatherall, R. (2019) 'Writing the doctoral thesis differently', *Management Learning*, 50(1), pp. 100–113. doi: 10.1177/1350507618799867.

Weber, M. (1997) *The theory of social and economic organisation*. Paperback. Edited by A. Henderson and T. Pearson. New York: The Free Press.

Weick, K. E. (1995) *Sensemaking in Organisations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Weick, K. E. and Browning, L. D. (1986) 'Argument and Narration in Organizational Communication', *Journal of Management*, 12(2), pp. 243–259.

Weick, K. E. and Quinn, R. E. (1999) 'Organizational Change and development', *Annual Reviews Psychology*, 50, pp. 361–386.

Williams, P. and Sullivan, H. (2007) *Working In Collaboration: Learning from Theory and Practice Literature*.

Winer, M. and Ray, K. (1994) *Collaboration Handbook: Creating, Sustaining, and Enjoying the Journey*. Saint Paul, Minn.: Amherst H. Wilder Foundation.

Woolf, N. H. and Silver, C. (2018) *Qualitative analysis using NVivo*. Oxon: Routledge.

Zeng, M. and Chen, X. (2003) 'Achieving Cooperation in Multiparty Alliances : A Social Dilemma Approach to Partnership Management Author (s): Ming Zeng and Xiao-Ping Chen Source : The Academy of Management Review , Vol . 28 , No . 4 (Oct ., 2003), pp . 587-605 Published by : Acade', *Academy of Management Review*, 28(4), pp. 587–605.

Zietsma, C. and Lawrence, T. B. (2010) 'Institutional work in the transformation of an organizational field: The interplay of boundary work and practice work', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(2), pp. 189–221. doi: 10.2189/asqu.2010.55.2.189.